

E L E M E N T S
OF THE
HISTORY OF FRANCE,

TRANSLATED FROM THE
A B B E M I L L O T,
CONFESSOR IN ORDINARY TO THE
FRENCH KING.

BY THE
TRANSLATOR OF SELECT TALES
FROM MARMONTEL,

AND
AUTHOR OF SERMONS
BY A LADY.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

L O N D O N:
Printed for J. DODSLEY in Pall-mall, and
T. CADELL in the Strand,
MDCCLXXI.

THE HISTORY OF

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HISTORY OF FRANCE

FROM THE

A B E M I L O N

CONSTITUTION IN 1789 TO THE

PRESENT TIME

BY

TRANSLATOR OF SELECT PAPERS
FROM MAMMONT

AND

AUTHOR OF SERMONS

BY A L A R N

IN THREE VOLUMES

VOL. I

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Printed by J. DODD, at the Theatre Royal, and
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MDCCLXXXI



T H E
TRANSLATOR'S
P R E F A C E.

HAVING already twice appeared in print, and each time been favourably received, it may be imagined I have lost that timidity which is natural to all young writers, especially of my sex, when they first expose themselves to the praise or censure of the Public: notwithstanding which, I ingenuously confess, I feel the contrary; and am fearful of losing that reputation which the world has been pleased to bestow upon me. This, indeed, cannot be properly stiled a work of my own; nor can history itself be called any thing more than a compilation or a narrative of facts;

iv TRANSLATOR's PREFACE.

the difference betwixt an historian and translator being, that the historian is allowed to make his own remarks, and express his own feelings, while the translator can only convey those of another. Had I not been restrained in this particular, I should, perhaps, with the true spirit of an Englishwoman, have refused to give that superiority to the honour, courage, and genius of the French nation, which the partiality of Mr. Millot makes him ascribe to it; and which, it may be, with some small share of the same foible, I ascribe to my own. However, waving that subject, I have endeavoured, as nearly as I could, to follow the sense of my Author, who, I must do the justice to acknowledge, is no bigot in religious affairs; and who speaks of the Protestants with much more moderation than could be expected from an Abbé of the Romish church.

Upon

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE. ▼

Upon the whole, I look upon this as an useful work; because it contains an account of every event which it is necessary to know, in a regular and rapid series: so that their chronological succession, and their natural connection with each other, may be easily discovered and retained. Nothing is omitted that may delineate the manners, or mark the progress of government, through all the successive changes which time and accident have produced, in concurrence with the passions of men, and the providence of the Almighty. From other particulars, which swell history beyond all proportion to human life, little useful knowledge can be gained: they only encumber the memory, and preclude more important and more pleasing pursuits.

As the reading of history is now become a part of female education,
this

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this Abridgment, with that of the History of England, translated from the same Author, by the ingenious Mrs. Brooke, has, by many very able judges, been thought more proper than any other, to be put into the hands of young ladies at school. The translator, though a woman; hopes, that in thus facilitating the accomplishment of her sex, she has not gone out of her sphere; as she has only conveyed through one language what was produced in another. She has not much pretension to praise; yet hopes it will be remembered, that those who construct an aqueduct, have always shared the acknowledgments of the Public with those who first opened the spring.

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ELEMENTS

OF THE

HISTORY OF FRANCE.

*Of the line of CLOVIS, being the first
King of FRANCE.*

THE Gauls, under which name may be comprised all the country between the Rhine, the two seas, the Alps, and the Pyrenees, being become, since the conquest of Julius Cæsar, a province of the Roman empire; next to the Visigoths, and Burgundians, two barbarous nations, who had deprived the emperors of a considerable part of their dominions; the Franks, another race of barbarians, sprung from Germany, robbed them of the remains, and laid the foundation of the kingdom of France, under the government of Clovis; of whose predecessors we know no more than their names; as, Pharamond, Clodion, Merovee, and Chilperic. They had

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had fixed their habitations among the Gauls, but were of too inconsiderable a note to draw much attention from their neighbours.

The courage and ambition of Clovis changed the face of the country; his first enterprize, at the age of nineteen years, was to dispossess the Romans, and to form from their ruins a puissant monarchy. He attacked their general, Syagrius, near Soissons; and, obtaining a complete victory, was equally successful in the extension of his conquests. It was with impatience that the Gauls suffered the Roman yoke; and it has been supposed, with some shew of reason, that he had recourse to policy, to gain the former on his side: to this end it was proclaimed, that the sole intent of his conquest was to give them liberty; at the same time leaving to the conquered a part of their lands, together with the usage of their ancient laws, and protecting them as much as possible from the fury and rapaciousness of the soldiers. Some authors are of opinion, that Clovis divided the land in shares. It is more natural to imagine, according to M. Montesquieu, that the conquerors took possession of what they thought proper, and left the remainder to the Gauls: these were, without doubt, satisfied with their lot, since they were fond of the



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the new government; it was founded by the force of arms; it was maintained by prudence.

Some soldiers having pillaged the church of Rheims, St. Remi, the bishop of that city, felt no loss equal to that of a large vase, which had been seized among the booty: at his entreaty, the king, anxious to keep faith with the church, promised the vase should be restored. The army retired to Soissons to divide the spoil; their shares, as was usual with the Franks, were to be distributed by lot, without exception, even to the prince himself; who chose to govern without being arbitrary.

Clovis intimated, that he should be glad to be possessed of the vase of Rheims; on which it seemed to be the general desire of the soldiers, that he should have it: one only differed from the rest, and proceeded to such degrees of insolence, as to discharge on this valuable vessel, a stroke from his battle-axe; at the same time crying out, That the share of the king ought to be determined by lot.

Clovis, dissembling his rage, took the vase and sent it to St. Remi. Some months afterwards, taking a review of his troops, he recollected the wretch who had offended him by that brutal action, and pretending displeasure that his armour was not in

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a proper condition, he snatched his battle-axe from him, and threw it on the ground: at the instant that this unhappy man stooped to pick it up, Remember, said the king, the vase of Soissons; and, at one stroke, severed his head from his body. According to Gregory of Tours, this struck an awe into the troops, and inspired them with sentiments of submission and respect. It was, perhaps, necessary to strike a terror into this rude and savage people, by such severe examples; but this necessity may serve to give us a specimen of the barbarous manners of the Germans.

The marriage of Clovis with Clotilda, niece of Gondebaud, king of Burgundy, was an event no less fortunate for himself than for his new subjects. This princess was a Christian; the Gauls, strongly attached to Christianity, rejoiced in an union, from which they hoped, that the victor (who, being a Frank, was, consequently, an idolater) would learn to reverence their sacred religion, and, by degrees, be led to embrace it. They were not deceived. Clotilda, zealous for the conversion of her husband, made use of such arguments as left a deep impression on his mind. She found no difficulty in convincing him of the folly of idolatry. Policy alone would have made him relinquish it. An ambitious

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tious prince seldom loses sight of his interest; and Clovis saw the necessity of favouring the tenets of a people, whom he was desirous should submit to his laws. What would have been his real sentiments, can only be judged by his conduct; he was certainly inclinable to the true faith, when Heaven determined his conversion by an event, which the greatest part of our historians record as a miracle.

The Alemanni, a warlike people, who afterwards gave their name to all Germany, invaded the Gauls; being desirous of establishing themselves there, as many other barbarous nations had done. Clovis feared for his still tottering throne: he anticipated the gathering storm, and marched against them, after having given his irrevocable word to become a Christian, if the God of Clotilda would bless him with victory. The two armies met at Tolbiac, near Cologn. The king saw himself on the point of losing a decisive battle: he invoked the true God, rallied his troops, and put the Germans to flight. He was soon after baptized by St. Remi*, and his example

* Hinemar, archbishop of Reims, in the ninth century, is the first who has mentioned the holy bubble, or the oil of angel, which they pretend was brought from Heaven for the baptism of Clovis. There ought,

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example was followed by a great part of the army. It does not appear that the Franks had much zeal for their gods; they thought of little else but the securing of their own establishment. The church reaped more advantage from this conversion, than from that of all the other christian monarchs. Clovis was the only catholic. The bishops (from whom he had already received many aids) from that time spared no pains to conciliate the affections of the people: to this cause may be attributed the excessive power which they maintained in the kingdom for so great a length of time, and the continual influence they have had in state affairs.

Clovis was now in possession of all Gaul, except on one side the kingdom of the Burgundians, comprising all the country from Langres, to the cities of Avignon and Geneva; and, on the other, that of the Visigoths, between the Pyrennees and the Loire. Gondebaud, the uncle of Clotilda, and king of Burgundy, a bloody and cruel prince, who had murdered his own brothers, was attacked and vanquished by this conqueror; who was, however, no great

certainly, to be the strongest proofs to render such a thing credible; which, even after the testimony of contemporaries, might appear doubtful.

gainer

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gainer by his victory. He next determined to execute a project he had for a long time designed; that of carrying his arms against Alaric, king of the Visigoths. Some trifling malecontents furnished a pretence for war; and Clovis artfully wove the interest of religion in the quarrel, being fully persuaded that was the most likely method of engaging the people on his side. The Visigoths, being Arians, and having persecuted the Catholics, the remembrance of these persecutions, though they were not recent, prepossessed the Gauls of this country in favour of Clovis: he excited their zeal thereto, by giving it out, that he was going to extirpate Arianism; taught by his policy to give the false name of a holy war, to an enterprize which he had projected even before his conversion. Alaric lived tranquilly in his territory, applying himself to the cares of government; worthy of the love of his people, and esteem of strangers; perhaps, not less brave than his rival, though fated to be less happy. The famous battle of Voville, near Poitiers, put the finishing stroke to his fortune, and completed the glory of Clovis. Aric fell by his hand, the Visigoths were cut to pieces; Touraine, Poitou, Limousin, Perigord, Xaintonge, Angoumois, Bourdeaux, Toulouse, the capital of the kingdom,

dom, were all subjected to the will of the conqueror. There remained only to subdue a part of Languedoc, and of Provence: but the celebrated Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, who reigned gloriously in Italy, more from friendship to the Gothick nation, than jealousy of the raising greatness of the victor, sent a formidable force to the succour of the Visigoths. The fortune of Clovis, for the first time, deceived him; his army was defeated before Arles, which he was then besieging: nevertheless, he failed not to preserve the greatest part of the fruits of his last conquest.

We are ignorant what motive could incline the emperor Anastasius to honour him with the titles of Patrician, Consul, and Augustus: these titles added nothing to his power; they were meer feathers, which served no other end, but to swell his vanity.

Bad dispositions are often made worse by success. The ambition of Clovis, far from being satisfied with his extensive conquests, was thereby rendered atrociously wicked and cruel. Several petty princes (his relations) had, among the Gauls, little territories, and the title of kings: whether he had really any fear on his own, or his children's account, or was solely actuated by

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by a desire of invading another's right; he caused them to perish by treachery and murder.

This barbarity hurt the reputation of his religion among the people: nevertheless, we see Clovis, much about the same time, building churches, and founding monasteries. From his baptism, he had always shewn that religious zeal, which cannot be too much commended, when it is accompanied with true piety and virtue; but the usurpations and violences of this prince sufficiently prove, either that he knew but little of the spirit of Christianity, or was not very scrupulous in the practice. He died at Paris, which he had made his capital city, at the age of forty-five.

Clovis regulated the Salique law, which fixed the punishment of crimes, and several other points of government. It is a vulgar error, that the right of succession to the crown was determined in that code. All it tells us is, "That with relation to the Salique land, women have no right of inheritance." This law is not peculiar to the royal family; for Salique is the general name of all those lands which they held by right of conquest. Nothing was more common, than to dispense with this law in favour of daughters; and, in such cases, the usual form only has been pre-

served by the legislation of the Franks. Pecuniary mulcts were the only punishments annexed to crimes. Robbery and murder were taxed; but when the guilt of the accused was not clearly proved, they were condemned or acquitted by ridiculous trials, of which I shall speak in another place. Even this cruel indulgence with regard to crimes, so likely to increase their growth, was one of the many instances that shewed their barbarity.

This nation was brave, and terrible in arms; though more civilized than the other people of Germany. Their manner of fighting was on foot; with the sword, the javelin, the battle-axe, which was an instrument with two edges, and the bow and arrow. The king marched at the head of his troops, the dukes and counts taking the command under him; these were settled officers, whose chief function, especially that of the dukes, was to conduct freemen to the war, from their several quarters. We should observe, that the laws then established were much more favourable to the Franks than to the Gauls, who went also by the name of Romans. It was not allowable to strike a Frank. King Chilperic having, in after time, broke through that law, drew on himself, says one of our ancient authors, the hatred
of

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of the nation. One article of the Salique law, was, That whoever took by the hand a free woman, should be condemned to pay a fine of sixteen pence in gold: it appears, that these customs soon grew out of date, at least at court. The distribution of justice was committed to the care of the counts and their deputies; and, as all the Franks were soldiers, the civil and military power, as M. l'Abbe Garnier observes, was united, which union continued many ages. The office of Referendary was the same as what we call Chancellor.

Successors of CLOVIS, to the year 562.

FROM the time of Clovis, to the end of the first dynasty, history is nothing more than a confused mixture of barbarous names, cruel actions, and obscure and complicated interests, of invasions and wars; of which the detail fatigues, without enlightening the mind. The learned are fond of following the turns of this labyrinth; but let us be satisfied to remark only what is worthy observation: Why should we load our memory with things, which are as useless to learn, as they are difficult to retain? Let us then, from hence-

forward, give the name of French to the subjected Gauls and powerful Franks, and to a people whose manners were once so different from ours.

Clovis left four sons, who shared his kingdom among them. A person ought, through his own misfortunes, to have been well versed in casualty, to prevent the fatal evils which attend such divisions. Thierri, the eldest son of a concubine, had a great part of Aquitaine taken from the Visigoths; and all the country between the Rhine and the Mease, called from that time the kingdom of Austrasie, of which Metz was the capital. Clodomer was king of Orleans, Childebert of Paris, Clotaire of Soissons. The first years of their reign presented no remarkable event: after this interval from arms, little conformable to the genius of the nation, the three younger brothers, through the instigation of the queen mother, made war on the Burgundians, claiming a right of inheritance from their grandfather, who had been assassinated by his brother Gondebaud, in order that he might have the sole possession of the throne. This quarrel was fatal to Clodimar; he fell in battle, and his children quickly became a sacrifice to the ambition and avarice of unnatural relations. Childebert and Coltaire formed a design of depriving

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depriving them of their birthright: to effect which wicked purpose, the first of these engaged Clotilda to take them with her to Paris, in order (as he pretended) to have them solemnly crowned; but as soon as they set foot in that city, they were arrested by command of their uncles, who, at the same time, sent to their mother a scissars and a sword; by which cruel presents, they designed she should understand, that the young princes had nothing to chuse but a cloister or death. The queen mother, overwhelmed with grief, and not suspecting the parricide, said, she had rather see them dead, than robbed of their crown. This reply served as a signal for the murder; and Clotaire, with his own hands, strangled his two eldest nephews; the younger fled from his fury, and hid himself in a convent, where he is honoured with the title of St. Claud. An alliance formed by such horrid crimes, could not be attended with any lasting friendship: the same self interest which united, divided them; and, at length, caused them to turn their arms against each other.

Thierri, though blest with superior qualities to Clotaire or Childebert, was not more virtuous; he had assisted Hermanfroi, the king of Thuringe, to overrun the country of his brother Balderic, on a promise

mise of receiving a share of the spoil, which Hermanfroi afterwards refused to perform, and fell a victim to his breach of faith; the king of Austrasie having vanquished him, through the assistance of his brother Clotaire, and caused his death by treachery, laid an ambuscade for Clotaire himself, which he had the good fortune to escape. Thierri, at his death, left Austrasie to his son Theodebert, one of the greatest princes of his age. The king of Paris and Soissons, who made a joke of the ties of blood and nature, endeavoured to seize on the possessions of Theodebert; but he having made himself respected by his actions, prevented their designs. Having nothing more to fear from his uncles, he joined his force with theirs, to dethrone the king of Burgundy: they gained a complete victory, and made themselves masters of that kingdom; which was established about an hundred years afterwards: they shared it among them; and the French nation grew so formidable, as to be thought of consequence by the emperor. Justinian, who by his great abilities, and by the bravery of Belisarius, his general, had recalled the ancient glory of the empire, sent ambassadors to the kings of France, to engage them to join with him against the Ostrogoths, who had united, and grown powerful

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ful in Italy, under the protection of Theodoric. The treaty was concluded. Vitiges, one of the successors of Theodoric, found means, nevertheless, to gain over the French, by yielding Provence, and all that he had in Gaul to them. The faith of treaties is nothing to the ambitious. Theodebert sent into Italy an army of Burgundians, pretending it was no violation of his league with the emperor, they not being French. With this reinforcement Vitiges ravaged Milan; Theodoric arriving soon after, at the head of a hundred thousand men, he cut to pieces the Ostrogoths, who looked on him as their ally; he then immediately attacked the Romans, and routed them, and returned to his dominions, triumphing in his double perfidy. Justinian, nevertheless, still endeavoured to gain over the French to his interest; to effect this, he made a merit of resigning his pretensions to Provence. Theodebert affected to defy him, and was preparing to carry the war into Constantinople, when death surprized him before he reached fifty years of age. Historians are loud in their praises of this prince; but if justice and equity are the principles on which the reputation of a monarch should be founded, his memory is by no means exempt from reproach. There is a little anecdote

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recorded of him, that does him great honour : The bishop Didier offering to repay him a large sum, which had been lent the inhabitants of Verdun, he refused to receive it : ‘ We are both happy,’ said he to the prelate ; ‘ you, in having procured me the occasion of doing good, and I in not letting that occasion slip.’

Theodebalde, or Thibaut, his natural son, succeeded him ; for illegitimacy was then no bar to succession. This prince sent an army into Italy, who, after having committed frightful excesses, were destroyed by the emperor’s troops. Before the death of Theodebert, his two uncles having quarrelled, we learn not why, had begun a new civil war : the smallest self-interest made them have recourse to arms ; superstition disarmed them. At the instant that Childebert was attacking the camp of Clotaire, there arose so violent a storm, that it was looked upon as something supernatural : it had one good effect ; that of reconciling the brothers. The succession of Theodebalde, who died soon after, was a new subject of discord.

Agathias, a Greek author of that time, says, That the law of the country called to the crown of Austrasie, Childebert and Clotaire, as the nearest relations. Childebert adds, he had no sons who could succeed

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ceed to the crown after his death ; but Clotaire had four : this is a proof that the succession was then in the family of Clovis, and the male heir only could pretend to it.

This law, though not written, by which women were excluded the crown, was always looked upon as a fundamental one ; it was engraved in the hearts of the French. The nation was resolved not to have a stranger for their master. It was in the power of a female reign to give them one ; to this resolution we may attribute the foundation of this law. It would have been well, if there had been one to this purpose enacted at first, in order to prevent the pulling to pieces of the kingdom ; the source of war and misery.

Childebert found himself dangerously ill. The ambitious Clotaire did not lose the advantage of it, but engaged the Austrasiens to look on him as the only heir of Theodebalde. His brother was obliged, unwillingly, to yield to him his claim ; but, recovering his health, he formed designs of revenge. Clotaire being gone into Germany, to punish the rebellious Saxons, one of his natural sons, named Chramne, a young prince, corrupted by flattery, and plunged in debauchery, had a part of the government committed to his trust.

trust. Childebert excited him to rebel. The son took arms against the father. Mean while Clotaire, confined before to the little kingdom of Soissons, became soon, by the death of Childebert, possessed of the whole monarchy. Chramne sued for mercy, and obtained it. His forced repentance was followed by a second revolt: the king pursued, and gave him battle. This second Absalom was vanquished, and burnt with all his family in a cottage. Clotaire died the following year 562. On the point of expiring, it is said, he, sighing, exclaimed: ‘How great is the power of the King of Heaven, who can thus put to death the chief of earthly princes?’ He acknowledged too late the avenger of his crimes.

It may be matter of wonder, that the Christian religion, which these barbarians professed to reverence, should not restrain their wickedness: had it been sufficiently known, it, doubtless, must have had that effect; but ignorance and superstition had inculcated notions which disgraced it: presents offered at the tomb of St. Martin de Tour; rich charitable foundations, and ridiculous ceremonies, were looked upon as the most shining virtues, and an attonement for crimes. A small number of enlightened bishops could not dissipate so dark

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dark a mist; which the Paganism that still remained, and the wars that were continually breaking out, served every day to thicken. Heads of the church had already appeared in battle: this employment became a species of their duty; for it was looked upon as necessary, that every subject should serve his sovereign in person.

The superstition of deciding by lot, was then much in vogue: were they curious to see into some future event, or would pass a determination on any affair of consequence, nothing was more easy; they stept into a church, during divine worship, where, opening at hazard the holy scriptures, the first verse which they heard sung, or the first line which presented itself, was looked on as an infallible prediction. It was by this means that Clovis assured himself of success, in his expedition against Alaric. The church of the Gauls, so famous in their infancy, had sunk into the same ignorance as others; and religion was soon so ill understood, as to serve for a veil to the most horrible passions.

Successors to CLOTAIRE the First, to the year 613.

CHILPERIC, one of the sons of Clotaire, being desirous of reigning in Paris, and having taken possession of it, his three sons came to besiege him. They agreed to divide by lot. Paris fell to Caribert, Orleans and Burgundy to Gontran, Austrasia to Sigebert, and Soissons to Chilperic, which was very distant from his aim. Caribert reigned but a few years. After his death, the three remaining brothers partook the succession; but as they all made pretensions to Paris, they compromised the matter, by each taking a part, and agreed, that no one should pass his bounds without the consent of his brothers. Such a ridiculous treaty was more likely to excite war, than to secure peace.

The mildness of Gontran, and the wisdom of Sigebert, seemed to promise happy and glorious reigns; nevertheless, treachery, assassinations, and discord, made France, and the royal house, a theatre always flowing with blood, and sullied with crimes. The vices of Chilperic, and the excesses of two ambitious women, produced these horrible scenes, which can never be blotted from remembrance; and

to

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to which the genius of the nation, undoubtedly, concurred. The French still preserved the barbarity of their ancient manners; unquiet, violent, greedy; breathing nothing but war and robbery: their greatest virtues were clouded by still greater vices; and, indeed, what virtue can there be without humanity?

Sigebert had married Brunehaut, the daughter of king Visigoth of Spain. Chilperic, already too famous by his debauches, demanded in marriage the eldest daughter of this prince, Galsuinda: having, with some difficulty, obtained her, he made a pretence of sacrificing to her his passion for Fredegonda, a woman of intrigue, full of wit, wickedness, and courage by the help of which qualities she had separated him from Audoucre, his first wife.

By an artifice, worthy of herself, and of the age she lived in, she engaged the king, in conjunction with the queen, to answer for an infant at the font: it seems it was thought a crime deserving of death, to marry the person who appeared with you on that occasion. The king was easily persuaded, that having stood sponsor with the queen, she could no longer lawfully be his wife: thus, under pretext of religious scruples, he effected a divorce, which, in reality,

reality, had its source only in ungovernable passion.

Examples of the like kind, in those times, were not uncommon. But, to return to Galsuinda: She did not enjoy the happiness of being his long; for she was found dead in her bed. Chilperic pretended to weep her loss, but very soon supplied her place upon the throne by Fredegonda. It was suspected, not without great reason, that he had contrived the death of her rival. Brunehaut was so persuaded of it, that she excited Sigebert to revenge this assault, and Gontran to assist him in the execution of it. They attacked Chilperic, and made him buy his peace at the expence of some of his possessions. They, notwithstanding, were afterwards twice in arms against each other; so little amity derived they from their birth. The king of Soissons eagerly embraced the opportunity of profiting himself from their disagreement. To this end he failed not immediately to form an alliance with his brother Gontran, Fredegonde, inspiring him with all that hate for Sigebert, which she had entertained for Brunehaut; but success was ever far from favouring his wishes. The king of Austrasia, though just on the point of forcing his camp, had yet the generosity to grant him terms of peace; an act which, nevertheless,

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theless, met with from Chilperic no returns of gratitude ; all sense of which was stifled by implacable hatred. Chilperic soon resumed his arms, was again defeated, returned at length to Tournay, with the loss of by far the greatest part of his dominions. Brunehaut, notwithstanding the exhortations of a pious bishop, who used his utmost endeavours to soften her, animated her husband to push to the last extremity his cruel perjured brother. Chilperic, besieged in Tournay, saw himself without resource : Fredegond's wicked heart supplied him ; she sent two wicked villains, who assassinated Sigebert in the midst of his army.

This prince deserved to be ranked among the greatest kings. The purity of his manners was at that time a prodigy. At the beginning of his reign he signalized himself against the Huns ; a fierce and savage people, known by the name of Abares, who ravaged Thuringe. At first he conquered, but was afterwards vanquished, and taken prisoner. The greatness of his behaviour made such an impression on them, that they restored him his liberty : a noble gratitude made him return this favour, by assisting the Abares in distress. He was unhappy in having a brother like Chilperic ; but would not have been so much

much so, had his wife been less vindictive than Brunehaut.

Chilperic and Fredegond being relieved from great danger, hastened to take advantage of the death of Sigebert. The crown of Austrasia was a motive for their ambition. Any means of usurping it appeared lawful: they arrested Brunehaut and her children; but a faithful subject contrived to set at liberty the young Childebert, a son of the murdered king, and having conducted him in safety to Mentz, put him in possession of the kingdom. Brunehaut was banished to Rouen, where she soon gave fresh uneasiness to her enemies. Merovee, one of the children of Chilperic by his first wife, became enamoured of her; his father had employed him to make the conquest of Poitou. This young prince, whose mind was more engaged by love than war, went secretly to Rouen, saw his aunt Brunehaut, and married her. The bishop Pretextat gave his benediction to this marriage, contrary to the canons of the church, and was, in consequence, a victim to the malice of Fredegond. Chilperic, mad with rage, flew to Rouen, where the two lovers took refuge in a church; this was an inviolable asylum: the King did not dare to force them from that sanctuary; though he trampled under foot, laws both
human

human and divine. They refused to leave that sacred place, till he had bound himself with an oath, to do neither of them any harm. By an inconceivable imprudence, he sent Brunehaut to Mentz, where her son lived; the consequence of which was, that she renewed the war, of which Chilperic, being unsuccessful, accused Merovee as the author; and, putting him in prison, ordained him a priest, in spite of his resistance. Nothing was astonishing in these barbarous ages.

Merovee at length escaped, and took refuge (as before) in the church of St. Martin de Tours, from whence his father would have forced him, had he not been restrained by the common persuasion, that such sacrileges never failed to draw an immediate punishment from Heaven.

A superstitious fear suggested a most singular expedient: he resolved to advise with the saint, whose vengeance he was afraid of provoking. He wrote a letter, and laid it on St. Martin's tomb, together with a sheet of white paper, on which the saint was to have written his reply; which never coming, the monarch retired. Merovee, in the mean while, being got from Tours, some traitors, hired by Fredegonda, deceived him by offers of service; and investing the house where he was reposing himself,

self, the unfortunate youth was found murdered. It was given out, that a friend had murdered him by his own desire ; but it was a stroke only worthy of Fredegonda.

This woman so habituated to crimes, resolved to ensure the crown to her children, and aimed at nothing so much as the death of those which Chilperic had by his first marriage. Merovee in this light, independent of his union with Brunehaut, must have been the victim of her ambition. There now remained only Clovis, whom she was seeking an occasion to destroy, when an epidemical disorder deprived her of her three sons. A calumniator, who was desirous, without doubt, to make his court to her, accused Clovis of having poisoned them. Fredegonda easily persuaded the king to believe it, and had the young prince put to death : she likewise ordered the execution of his mother Audouree, as an accomplice, who had been a considerable time confined in the convent. What bounds can be set to the cruelty of a remorseless woman, who has an ascendancy over a prince as wicked as herself ?

Some time after, Chilperic having a son, was desirous he should be baptized at Paris, and to assist in person at the ceremony ; but by virtue of the treaty made with his
brothers,

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brothers, he could not enter that city without the consent of the other monarchs, under pain of being cursed by St. Polieucte, St. Martin, and St. Hillary, the guarantees of this treaty. This prince, impious to a shameful degree, and superstitious to the height of folly, thought of an expedient to escape their curses: he entered the city preceded by the relics of several other saints; being persuaded that these would protect him from their vengeance.

France had been several years torn to pieces by civil wars. Young Childebert, king of Austrasia, having first formed an alliance with Gontran, the king of Burgundy, against Chilperic, afterwards joined with Chilperic against the king of Burgundy. They chose rather to discard every tender sentiment of nature, than to wave their claim to a single city: they pillaged, they ravaged, and embroiled the people in war and misery, without gaining any real advantage to themselves. A general peace was made between them, which lasted not a year. Gontran and Childebert declared war against Chilperic, just at the time when the latter was assassinated in returning from hunting. Some suspected Brunehaut of this crime, others accused Fredegonda, and a lord of the court, whom

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she loved. The last accusation, though without proof, seems the most reasonable, as it falls on a monster of the most horrid iniquity.

We may say with Gregory of Tours, that Chilperic was the Nero of his age; always at variance with his own blood, and no less a tyrant to his subjects, whom he harassed with taxes in such a manner, as to make many of them abandon their possessions: nevertheless, he piqued himself on a taste for wit and literature, and made an ordinance, that the double Greek letters should be made use of in the holy scriptures. This whimsical law had no force after his death, not did grammatical corrections any more owe their birth to royal edicts.

An ordinance had been likewise published by the same prince, on the disputes of Arianism, prohibiting his subjects to speak of the Deity; or make use of the terms of *Trinity* and *Person*; which, however, some bishops had interest enough to engage him to suppress. The churches and monasteries had been prodigiously enriched by the donations of Clovis, Clotilda, and their children; which made Chilperic heavily complain, that the treasury was exhausted, and that the only kings to be seen in France
were

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were bishops. But his own acts of injustice occasioned complaints that were much better founded. Notwithstanding the poet Fortunatus, bishop of Poitiers, was not penurious in encomiums on this prince, in several of his pieces, which he dedicated to him; perhaps an instance of greater abuse of the poetic art would be difficult to shew, though even Nero himself was not destitute of those, who were prepared to offer him such kind of incense.

Of all the children of Chilperic, there remained only one, four months old, Clotaire the second; for whom, as well as for herself, his ambitious mother had every thing to fear: her genius, however, did not forsake her; she applied to Gontran, whose compassion she endeavoured to interest in her favour. Whatever efforts were made by Childebert, whether with design to dispossess the son, or to wreak vengeance on the mother, the king of Burgundy still deprived him of every hope of success, yet declared him his heir, if he died without issue; which leaves no room to doubt of the generous motives of his conduct with regard to Clotaire and Fredegonda. But as Gontran had settled a regency for the young king of Soissons, the mother, impatient of seeing herself thereby deprived of all authority, applied her-

self to stir up enemies against her benefactor ; which ingratitude so irritated the king of Burgundy, that he raised some doubts with regard to the legitimacy of her son, when Fredegonda proved that Clotaire was truly the son of Chilperic. Oaths in such cases were not much to be depended upon ; nevertheless, they dissipated suspicions and new attempts against Childebert, and Brunehaut exercised the diabolical mind of Fredegonda, of which I shall suppress the detail.

After the death of Gontran, a mild and modest prince, whose piety might have entitled him to be ranked among the saints *, Childebert took possession of his kingdom ; and, according to the taste of the princes of that age, conceived the desire of seizing on Clotaire. The courage of Fredegonda increased with her danger : she assembled her troops, and put herself, accompanied by her son, at the head of them. Deceiving the enemy by a stratagem, she gained a complete victory ; and leaving behind her all the traces of cruelty, she returned to Soissons loaded with booty. Childebert dying

* We must observe, that to the tenth century, all churches enjoyed the right of canonizing their own saints. Canonizations were then very frequent. Pope Alexander the III^d decreed, that these were matters of that importance, as to belong only to the holy see.

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a few years afterwards, she took Paris and several other cities; and, attending her troops in person, routed an army of Brunehaut. At length she died, and left a memorable example to posterity, of the blackest actions that the most violent passions could give birth to, and of all the genius, address, and intrepidity, which can animate resolution in the most critical conjuncture. She only departed from her character, when her children were dangerously ill; for she then seemed entirely given up to devotion, as if she had expected a miracle to be worked in her favour.

Brunehaut became more powerful than ever, by the death of her son Childebert: she took upon her the care of the dominions belonging to her grandsons. Thierry had the kingdom of Burgundy assigned to him, and Austrasia fell to the lot of Theodebert. The first years rolled tranquilly on, under the regency of this imperious princess; who punished with death all those of whom she entertained any mistrust. The nobles of Austrasia grew tired of this despotic sway; and having made themselves masters of the young king's person, and also gained his affections, they at last succeeded so far as to banish her. She took refuge with Thierry: to be able

to manage him as she desired, we are assured, she was not ashamed to corrupt his manners, and encourage him in libertinism; by which means she very soon engaged him to take arms against his brother, to revenge the affront which she had received in Austrasia. All the horrors of civil war, all the crimes, of which we have seen such shocking instances, again appeared in this wretched kingdom. Theodebert being conquered, was massacred by the orders of Brunehaut. Thierri, who had engaged Clotaire to remain neuter, was himself the first to break the treaty; he was preparing to attack his cousin, when he was seized with a dysentery, and died at Metz. Clotaire, in his turn, became an usurper and parricide; he put two sons of Thierri to death, and made a monk of the third; the fourth found means to escape, and was never heard of afterwards.

The tragical end of Brunehaut, put the finishing stroke to these horrible scenes: Clotaire, full of the sentiments of his mother Fredegonda, after having accused her of the greatest crimes, after having reproached her with being the death of ten kings, or sons of kings, delivered her to the insults of the soldiers, and to the cruelty of the executioner: the last punishment they condemned her to, was to be
tied

tied to the tail of a horse, and dragged through briers, and over stones, till she expired. An author of this time, Fredegair, in this recital, has the effrontery to say, 'That Clotaire was one of the best and mildest, 'princes to all mankind.' They must then, without doubt, have a very different idea of mildness, from what we have in our times. Some moderns have attempted an apology for Brunehaut; but if she was accused of several crimes of which she was innocent, at least it must be allowed, that (after the death of Childebert) ambition and revenge made her guilty of many. Pope Gregory the Great, in the letters which he has written to her, praises her piety, her charity, and her government. One cannot help saying, (without suspecting him of flattery) that he has sometimes exaggerated in his encomiums. He wrote a letter to Childebert II. in which he makes use of these words: 'Your kingdom is as much above 'other nations, as its sovereigns are above 'other men.' What language then would he have used, had he written to Charlemagne? Besides, Brunehaut survived St. Gregory many years: as she was, in his time, less worthy of blame than afterwards, and he found her necessary to him; he took care, perhaps, in praising her good works, to dissemble her vices.

Nothing was more common in those days, than to endeavour to cover the most shocking enormities, by an exterior shew of piety ; even Fredegonda could sometimes appear devout. Childebert was the most wicked, as well as the most superstitious of princes. As religion restrains sin, by making us feel the horrors, and dread the punishment of it ; so superstition encourages us to commit crimes, by furnishing us with easy means of expiating them.

Clotaire II. found himself now, as was his grandfather Clotaire I. the only king of the French monarchy ; of which he before only possessed Soissons : he effaced, by acts of moderation and justice, the barbarities which have been related. We may remark, in the remainder of his reign, a council at Paris, composed of lords and bishops, such as have been since continued ; they made ordinances for all the kingdom, which they called chapters. This council exerted themselves against the abuse of selling church livings for money ; the same as lay-preferments ; an abuse, by which some bishops had made themselves scandalous to the nation. Circuiting parliaments, that went under the denomination of placita, or courts, became frequent ; where the nation used to meet in common, and deliberate on the affairs of
state,

state, and the king to give his assent to those proposals, which he, in his judgment, looked upon as salutary. He weakened his authority, in favour of his lords; by which means his reign was more tranquil than any had hitherto been; but this tranquility cost his successors dear; whose subjects, very soon, became their masters. Clotaire divided the reins of government with his eldest son, Dagobert; to whom he yielded Austrasia and Neustria, with the title of king. (Neustria comprizes all the country between the Meuse and the Loire; it was properly the kingdom of France.) He died regretted by his people, and respected by his nobles; whose power he had too much augmented.

I have nothing to say of a war that Gontran had with the king of Spain; nor of a certain Gondebaud, who gave himself out for the son of Clotaire the First, was crowned, and soon after assassinated by the seditious multitude; nor of some expeditions against the Varns, a people of Germany; and against the Gascoignes, a set of barbarians, who came from beyond the Pyrenees; or against the Britons, the Lombards, and the Saxons; these kind of wars were no more than short excursions, the relation of which would make us lose the thread of principal events.

We must endeavour to avoid confusion, by passing over superfluous details, and occupy our memory with more useful knowledge.

Successors of CLOTAIRE II. to the year 692.

DAGOBERT, having known the sweets of being king, even during his father's life, could not bear the thoughts of dividing the sway with his brother Aribert or Charibert. Intrigue, joined with force, gave him the general voice of the people. Acknowledged sole monarch, he yet assigned to Aribert a part of Aquitaine, by way of appenage; which this prince, however, did not long enjoy, dying in two years. Aquitaine remained a great while in his family, under the title of an hereditary dukedom. Had Dagobert been less a slave to his passions, he would have been a model in the art of reigning. He was active, laborious, visited his principal cities, and distributed justice to all his subjects, paying deference to the counsels of wise ministers; by these means, in the beginning of his reign, law and regularity began to flourish; but his amours soon drew him into the most extravagant excesses.

Three

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Three women, whom he, at the same time, honoured with the title of queens, and a whole troop of mistresses, absorbed his revenues. Increase of taxes, confiscations, and usurpations of church estates, were fatal resources in such circumstances; which lost him the affection and esteem of his people.

He was engaged in a war, of which there are but few instances. Samon, a French merchant, going to traffic with the Sclavonians, near the Danube, pleased the army of those barbarians so well, that they elected him king. Some other French merchants, being insulted by the same people, Dagobert sent to demand justice; which he did by his envoy, in a tone so haughty, as displeased Samon; and he replied only by bravadoes: war broke out; the Sclavonians were victorious, and were going to ravage the kingdom; but it was supposed, that their success might well be put to the account of the Austrasians; whose chiefs, through resentment of the oppressions of the king, behaved themselves ill on the day of battle. Dagobert, in order to animate them to the defence of the territories, gave them a king, independent of himself; which was Sigebert, his eldest son. This expedient succeeded; and the Sclavonians, either never dared undertake

undertake an enterprize, or were always repulsed.

The remainder of this reign produced nothing remarkable. They talk much of the magnificence of those times: it is said, that St. Eloi, who came to court only in the capacity of a goldsmith, and who was afterwards treasurer to Dagobert, and bishop of Soissons, wore a girdle covered with jewels; he made for Clotaire, a chair of massy gold; and from these recitals (so little probable) we may conclude that commerce, and more especially pillage, had enriched the nation, or rather a small number of people; but we shall soon see that trade was confined within narrow limits.

After the death of Dagobert, whose praises were sung by the monks, because he had been prodigal in his donations to churches and monasteries, the monarchy, under a weak administration, daily lost its power. Sigebert preserved Austrasia: Clovis II. his brother, had Neustria and Burgundy: they were both almost destitute of authority; the mayors of the palace growing more powerful than the kings themselves. These mayors had their jurisdiction at first confined to the palace only; they afterwards grew powerful in the cabinet and the field, and, in fine, contrived to

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to make so important a place hereditary. In the beginning of monarchy, dignities and tenures were only for life ; avarice and ambition, insensibly so encreased their power, that they were afterwards enabled to perpetuate them in their families. They took advantage of the weakness of some princes, to aggrandize themselves at the expence of the royal authority. Towards the end of the first line, the mayors were all powerful, and monarchs were less than nothing. We are now arrived on the eve of revolution.

Sigebert was so much influenced by the mayor, Grimoald, that he promised to adopt his son, in failure of any issue of his own. This prince, more fit for a cloister than a throne, spent his days in founding and regulating monasteries.

The reign of Clovis II. was also obscure. There is no dependence on the writers of these times ; they were almost all monks, and their testimonies generally contradict each other : it is no uncommon thing for the same prince to have the character of being brutal, cowardly, and abandoned to all sorts of debaucheries, from one writer ; and of being wise, blest with the most shining qualities, full of courage, equity, and piety, from another. What clouds of ignorance and prejudice have these authors spread over

40 ELEMENTS OF THE

our history? Clovis being dead, two of his sons shared the succession. Clotaire III. was king of Neustria and Burgundy; Childeric of Austrasia. The mayor, Grimoald, had given this last kingdom to his own son; but the usurper was soon dethroned. Batilda, the mother of Clotaire, who was yet a child, governed some time with much wisdom: devotion (which ought to have made her prefer the public good to her own ease) unfortunately inspired her with a taste for retirement: too sensible, perhaps, to what inevitable chagrins she must be exposed in a turbulent dissatisfied court, she chose rather to live in peace in the retreat of a convent, than to wear herself out in the service of her country. This was the greatest of misfortunes; by retiring, she left a free opening to Ebroin, mayor of the palace; a passionate, arrogant, insensible man; whom both the nobles and the people detested, as a tyrant. Clotaire died young, without any male children. His brother Thierry, who had never had any share in the succession of Clovis, was proclaimed king, without Ebroin deigning to consult, or assemble the lords; who rose with one consent, and confined the mayor in a convent: Thierry, though innocent, was involved in his

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his disgraces; and Childeric was acknowledged sole sovereign.

This prince had given his confidence to Leger the bishop of Autun, whose sage counsel procur'd him a glorious reputation; but flatterers were not tardy in corrupting him: his confidence was changed into suspicion, and enraged against the bishop, Childeric put him in prison, and then set no bounds to his desires. A nobleman named Bodillon, having one day made some lively remonstrances on the subject of a new tax, was treated with great indignity, and he reveng'd himself in a shocking manner; by assassinating the king, the queen, and their children, in the forest of Livri.

Thierri again mounted the throne. The Austrasians had shaved him, but his hair had had time enough to grow long. Long hair, as we have before observed, was a mark of distinction to princes. Divested of this ornament, they became incapable of reigning. Opinion, especially in those barbarous ages, often made things of the greatest consequence depend upon mere nothings.

The ambitious Ebroin left his monastery, and again appear'd to disturb the peace of France. He proclaim'd a false Clovis, pretending that he was the son of Clotaire III. He advanc'd to the gates of Paris.

The

The king, too feeble to resist, was obliged to create Ebroin mayor of the palace. This being the end he desired, he sacrificed his Clovis without remorse, but rebellion is generally the consequence of tyranny. This mayor grew so odious, and his dominion so hard to submit to, that Austrasia threw off the yoke, and instead of kings, resolved to give herself dukes, or independent governors. The great qualities of Pepin, surnamed Heristel, appeared worthy of this place, and amazing success soon answered the ambition of his mind. Ebroin being assassinated, as might be expected, several mayors succeeded him, but the government of Thierry was not mended. A crowd of malecontents retiring into Austrasia, Pepin received them with open arms, and interested himself for them with an appearance of zeal; and on the king's refusing to treat them with humanity, which refusal was accompanied with menaces against Pepin, he determined the Austrasians to take up arms. Resolving to profit of the occasion, to render himself master of the kingdom, he took care to engage the clergy on his side, as the most sure means of gaining over the people. The better to colour his enterprize, and to make himself honoured by a shew of moderation, he sent at the same time an offer of peace to Thierry,

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erri, foreseeing that his minister, a fierce inflexible man, would engage him to refuse it: the consequence was a battle, which destroyed the small remains of royal authority. Pepin, the master of Paris, of the finances, and of the person of the king, was equally so of the whole monarchy, under the simple name of mayor of the palace. The wisdom of his government changed the face of affairs: he gained the hearts of the nation, and soon obliged the rebels abroad to own his power. His victories in Germany, his justice and goodness towards the French, secured his authority, by veiling the odium of usurpation.

The ancient custom of calling a general assembly on the first of March, which was known by the name of the camp of Mars, had been almost abolished by the last mayors, who affected despotism. He re-established and admitted bishops into these assemblies, where the clergy had never before had a seat; a new piece of address, according to the observation of P. Daniel, to attach the ecclesiastical body to his interest, whose credit was boundless, because all the rest of the people were in a manner buried in the deepest ignorance.

It was on these occasions that Pepin made Thierry appear on his throne; it was only

only then that the monarch might be said to exist; at other times so despised and forgotten, that his death scarcely made any noise.

The Titular Kings.

THE last kings of the line of Clovis, except one, deserve not to be named, they were shadows of kings, confined to a fine house, which might properly be called a prison, having guards, less for their safety than to keep them in servitude: they had no other employment for their thoughts than how to pass life agreeably: they appeared in public only on certain days of the year, in a car drawn by oxen, a carriage that had before that time been designed merely for the use of the queens. They might justly be compared to infant inheritors of a crown, who do nothing themselves, and in whose name all things are done. The policy of the mayors procured such an education for them, as was suitable to the kind of life they were to lead. The people, without doubt, looked on the right of succession to the crown in a very sacred light, since even Pepin himself did

did not dare to think of putting it on his own head.

He continued to reign under sanction of the name of Clovis, of Childebert, and of Dagobert; always in arms against the Frisians and the Germans, and always victorious. His excessive power excited either the envy or the jealousy of some lords, who seeing him dangerously ill, assassinated his son Grimoald duke of Burgundy, in order to establish, with less difficulty, the ancient form of government. Pepin recovered, and condemned the factious noblemen to the greatest tortures. Theodebalde his grandson, though an infant, was nominated his successor, as mayor of the palace. This was in some degree rendering the supreme power hereditary in his family. Some months after, Pepin died, after having governed twenty-seven years.

King Dagobert II. saw himself under the tuition of a woman, and an infant; the widow of Pepin exercising the office of mayor. Charles Martel, the son of this great man, by a concubine, was arrested, and they elected for mayor of the palace, a nobleman named Rainfroi, who undertook to subjugate Austrasia. In the mean while Charles Martel escaped from prison, and took refuge among his countrymen the
 Austra-

Austrasians : they received him as a hero, worthy of his father. Soon after the king died, and left a son : but the Nustrians found themselves powerful enough to make a favourite of their own succeed him : this was one Chilperic, descended from the old king Childeric. We must not confound this prince with the titular kings.

Rainfroi put himself at the head of the army. Twice he attacked Charles Martel, twice he was vanquished. He was reduced to implore the succour of the Gascoignes, lately settled in Aquitaine. Charles was again victor, and forced the Gascoignes to return to Childeric. He treated the king in a respectful manner, but took on himself the government of the kingdom, as master and father. Thierry IV. who succeeded Chilperic, towards the year 721, is scarcely known by name, notwithstanding the famous events of his reign.

The policy of Charles Martel, like that of his father Pepin, consisted chiefly in not letting the warlike genius of the nation grow languid, and exercising it incessantly abroad, for fear it should occasion troubles at home. Not to say any thing of his frequent excursions into Germany, where he taught religion to those whom he had subjugated by force of arms : the defeat of the Saracens rendered his name immortal.

Roderick,

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Roderick, the Visigoth king of Spain, having dishonoured the daughter of count Julien, this implacable lord had call'd upon the Mussulmans to assist his revenge in 715, and having introduced them into his country, the incontinence of the prince drew on the ruin of the kingdom; such fatal consequences proceed from unruly passions. After having conquered Spain, the Saracens were desirous of invading Gaul. The first storm fell on Eudes duke of Aquitaine, who was beaten some years before by Charles Martel: he had once entered into a treaty with them against France, and drew on himself their hatred by his breach of promise. The Emir Abderaine cut his army in pieces: Eudes flew for protection to Charles Martel, who had already resolved to oppose the Saracens, whom he saw overrunning the kingdom; he marched against and attacked them between Poitiers and Tours, and gained a complete victory, which cost the Saracens, if we may give credit to historians, above three hundred thousand men, among whom was their general Abderaine. Without this victory, France would most probably have been a country of Mahometans: the Frisons twice beaten, Aquitaine subjected and restored to the son of Eudes, as to a simple vassal; a rebellion in Provence repressed, the Saracens

racens again defeated near Narbonne, and driven out of the kingdom: and all this was only the work of a few years for Charles Martel. Thierry being dead, he continued to reign under the title of duke of France, without giving himself the trouble of naming another king.

Some singular circumstances were near raising him to a higher fortune. The emperor Leon Isaurien, better qualified to dispute in a school, than to govern an empire, was desirous of abolishing the worship of images, as contrary to Christianity; with a design of establishing this new doctrine, he embroiled the empire. The zeal of Pope Gregory III. did not confine himself merely to condemn these errors. Churchmen, who are never so worthy of respect, as when they bound their ambition by their duty, at this time grown rich and powerful, had made a dangerous mixture of spiritual and temporal interests. The Pope suffered with great impatience the dominion of the emperor of Constantinople: on the other side, the Lombards established in Italy, threatened Rome. Gregory, to deliver himself at once from a painful yoke, and from threatening peril, implor'd the succour of Charles Martel, offering to proclaim him consul of Rome, and entirely to withdraw himself from all subjection to the

the power of an heretical emperor. He could not better flatter the ambition of the French. Charles, who had resisted less advantageous offers, did not resist this, but promis'd every thing. Death surpriz'd him the same year, as it did also the pope and emperor, and left the execution of this great project to one of his sons: he had two by his first wife, Carloman and Pepin the little, between whom, by the consent of the lords, he divided the kingdom in his last sickness, to govern it in quality of dukes or mayors.

Charles Martel had seiz'd on several ecclesiastical estates, either to furnish the expences of war, or to reward the lords who serv'd him. This gave rise to those pretended revelations of the monks, where he is painted in the most horrible colours, and consign'd over to hell-torments. Gregory III. certainly had a different opinion of him from the monks. It should be observ'd, that the churches richly endow'd, and still more enrich'd by the fruits of the earth, had absorbed a great part of the treasures of the kingdom.

Add to this, that it was necessary to provide for the nobility, who were all bred to the profession of arms. On these accounts, a custom had been some time established, which obliged the church to give up the profits of some farm to a lord or

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free

free man ; who, of consequence, engaged himself in the military service. The councils of the eighth century approved of this custom, founded in the public good ; but it was often difficult not to abuse it. Charles Martel despised the murmuring of the monks and ecclesiastics. His son Pepin, having more interest in managing them, applied part of his policy to give them satisfaction. France had been without a king from the death of Thierry the IVth ; and this interregnum caused an apparent discontent. Pepin, as ambitious, and not less capable than his father, made them proclaim king, in the country which they had allotted him, Childeric, the son of Chilperic II. a prince of whom the historians of this time have not spoken. Carloman was sole master in Austrasia : he there convened a council by his own authority, in the same manner as was done by sovereigns. These two brothers, inseparably united, vanquished, in concert, several nations of Germany ; but, in the midst of his victories, Carloman determined on a monastic life, and retired, leaving the whole kingdom in the hands of his brother.

Pepin added to the courage and talents of Charles Martel, the ambition of being possessed of the title, as well as the authority of a king. Never usurper conducted

ducted himself better under such a design; adored by the people, respected by the nobles, cherished by the clergy and the monks; to whom he returned a part of the estates which his father had taken; he saw no other barrier to the throne, than the difficulty of appearing to mount it without injustice. His policy removed this obstacle; having secured in his interest St. Boniface, the bishop of Maience, a missionary, whose apostolic zeal was supported by the duke; he engaged him to found pope Zachary; who, on his side, entered into the views of Gregory III. When Pepin was sure of the favourable dispositions of the pontiff, he sent in form to propose a case of conscience: 'If it was proper, in the present situation of Europe, that a man, incapable of reigning, should have in France the quality of a king; when the royal authority was exercised by another, who made a good use of it?' The pope replied, 'That he should rather give the title to him, who had the authority.' A decision, so contrary to the right of the legitimate heir, was received as an oracle. The states of the kingdom conformed to it. They shaved Childeric, and confined him with his son in a monastery.

Thus ended, after 270 years reign, the race of the Merovingians; which, accord-

ing to several learned writers, took its name from Merovee, the grandfather of Clovis I.

Second line. PEPIN.

THE ambitious have commonly made use of religion, as the means of attaching themselves to the people; the inconstancy of whom is not always fixed by the wisdom of government. Pepin proclaimed king, cemented his power in the same manner as he had established it. He caused himself to be consecrated at Soissons, by Boniface, bishop of Maience; a ceremony, till then, unknown in the kingdom: before, they used to inaugurate their kings, by raising them on a shield.

Consecration was proper to inspire a kind of religious veneration. This custom was continued, not as a thing essential to royalty, since it was a new institution; but as an homage that the king made to the divinity of his crown. The policy of Pepin prompted him to go one step farther; which was, to ask of pope Stephen absolution, for this his usurpation; no doubt with a view that he might not be disturbed in the enjoyment of his throne.

The

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The popes had great reason to applaud themselves, on this their attachment with regard to him; for hence may we date the commencement of that temporal power, which has since enabled them to act so considerable a part in affairs that belong to states and kings.

Astolphus, king of the Lombards, had invaded the exarchy of Ravenna, a kind of government dependent on the emperors of Constantinople.

The authority of the exarchies of Ravenna was extended over the city of Rome, which Astolphus wanted to make subject also to his dominion; but the people of Rome and the pope, who were not under that of the emperor, were totally averse to the accepting of a barbarian for their master. But finding him too powerful, Stephen III. after several useless negotiations, took the resolution of coming to France to seek for succour. Pepin did not lose this occasion of rendering his person still more august: he caused himself to be again consecrated by the hands of the pope; whom he soon after accompanied into Italy, at the head of an army; defeated the Lombards; imposed on them conditions of peace; and gave the exarchy to the holy see. The victor no sooner disappeared, than the treaty was broken.

Astolphus besieged Rome. The pope wrote a letter to Pepin in the name of St. Peter, in which he makes the angels and saints interest themselves in favour of the pontificate: this important letter, according to the learned and judicious Abbe Fleury, gives us a light into the genius of the age, and shews to what a height the most serious men could carry fiction when they believed it useful. Pepin apparently less touched by this address, than by the perfidy of the Lombards, returned into Italy, and constrained Astolphus to restore the exarchy to the pope, reserving to himself the right of sovereignty. It has been a long time insisted on, that Constantine made the same donation to the holy see; but no one now gives credit to this fable: some question its being the gift of Pepin, but no one doubts the temporal grandeur of the pope's beginning then to be established, of which the series of this history will shew the unhappy effects.

War filled up almost all the remainder of the reign of Pepin; he obliged the Saxons and Sclavonians to pay tribute, and the duke of Bavaria to take an oath of fidelity; in fine, he reunited Aquitaine to the crown; but France was so unhappy as to lose this great man, when he was only fifty-four years old. His merit was such as
obliterated

obliterated all remembrance that he was not born to a throne: far from pretending to despotism, he communicated all important affairs to the assembly of the nation; where laws were made according to the ancient custom of the Franks.

His will was a law; because he reigned in the hearts and affections of his subjects. The lords whom he consulted, the bishops whom he favoured, the people of whom he was the admiration, all remained steadily faithful to him: a rare example of a revolution without disturbances. Grison, a son of Charles Martel by his second wife, vainly raised him enemies abroad. Since he never had at home either revolt or cabal, it became a proverb, in giving an high idea of any one, to say, He is as prudent as Pepin. This prince was of small stature; which gave him the surname of the Little, but of extraordinary strength. It is recorded, that some lords having one day rallied him on his size, he thought of an experiment to inspire them with respect, which appears almost incredible. He gave the diversion of a combat between a lion and a bull: seeing the bull thrown by the lion, 'Which of you,' said he, 'will dare to separate, or kill these furious animals?' They were all silent; he then sprang forward, with the sabre in his hand,

and cut the throat of the lion; and, by another stroke, severed the head from the body of the bull. Men of those times, who delighted in bodily exercises, were much more robust than they are in our days. Hunting was the principal amusement of princes. The constitution, which is now weakened by effeminacy, was then strengthened by fatigue.

CHARLES I. *called* CHARLEMAGNE.

WHETHER it be that nature produces very few heroic minds, or that the glory and fortune of the father enervate and corrupt the children, it is rare to see in the same house an uninterrupted succession of great men; nevertheless, after Pepin Heristel, Charles Martel, and the last king; as celebrated politicians as they were illustrious warriors; we see Charlemagne surpass the mighty deeds of his ancestors, and give a lustre to the crown of France, of which it was not thought capable. The kingdom was shared between the two sons of Pepin, Charles and Carloman. The latter died very soon; and left his brother, to whom he had given some uneasiness, the peaceful possession of the throne.

Didier,

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Didier, king of the Lombards, to attach himself to a young hero, whose ambition he feared, offered his daughter in marriage to Charlemagne. Political interest made this alliance desirable on both sides. The Frenchman was already married; but they did not make any great scruple of a divorce. Pope Stephen IV. saw how dangerous to the interest of the church it would be, to have a union between France and Lombardy, and therefore used every means to prevent it; he in vain represented, that the house of Didier was accursed of God; he in vain threatened the vengeance of St. Peter. The marriage was concluded; and to sweeten the pope's chagrin, they restored him some places which the Lombards had taken from him.

A year afterwards, Charlemagne divorced himself from his new wife. Didier, extremely sensible of this affront, neglected nothing to revenge it. Adrian I. a pope distinguished for his courage and prudence, not being willing to second his views, war again commenced between the Romans and the Lombards; the former called Charlemagne to their succour. In spite of the repugnance of the French to Italian expeditions, he passed the mountains, and rendered himself master of Pavia, the capital of his enemies: after a siege of six months, he de-

throned the king of Lombardy, confirmed the donations of Pepin in favour of the sovereign pontiffs, and contented himself to have the pope for his vassal. He was made patrician of the Romans, and king of Italy; a kingdom possessed by the Lombards for two hundred and six years. These people, originally from Pannonia, had given their name to the country they had made their own. Lombardy was called after Charlemagne; the kingdom of Italy, comprizing almost that whole country, Rome, and all that been yielded to the holy see. A certain proof, that the conqueror preserved the sovereignty in Rome, as well as elsewhere, is, that the coin was there stamped with his image, that the public acts were dated in the several years of his reign, and that appeals were made to his officers from the decisions. Pope Adrian gave to him the right of electing and confirming the sovereign pontiffs; which was one of the principal prerogatives of the emperors. The popes becoming more powerful, insensibly arrogated to themselves a right of nominating who they pleased to the empire.

The Saxons often subdued to pay tribute, and always disposed to rebel, opened another channel for the exploits of Charlemagne. These Pagans occupied the northern

northern part of Germany; they were infinitely jealous of their liberty, and never submitted but to a superior force; and danger being now distant, they broke the yoke, without having any regard to their oaths. Charlemagne, having no hopes of taming their ferocity but by Christianity, took infinite pains to have that religion taught them; a wise piece of policy, if he had not employed violence to assist the zeal of the missionaries. Several of these barbarians allowed themselves to be baptized, to avoid death or slavery. Such Christians became very soon perjured and rebellious. The king continually pursued them sword in hand; and, in one day, massacred more than four thousand, who were begging mercy. This terrible example served only to increase rebellion. Their famous general Witikind incessantly animated the courage of a desperate people. After many bloody defeats, he yielded to the invitations of Charlemagne, was baptized, and kept the nation some years in their duty; but the Saxons imitated not the fidelity of Witikind. The victor, in order to subdue them entirely, was obliged to drive them from their own country, and to disperse them in Switzerland and Flanders; where they carried with them the same rebellious spirit. During the

troubles of Flanders, under Philip of Valois, it was a common proverb to say, That Charlemagne, by mixing the Saxons with the Flemings, had, out of one devil, made two.

His wars against the Saxons continued thirty-three years. During this interval, he made an infinite number of other glorious expeditions: that of Spain, where he went to fight for the Saracens, is less celebrated by his conquests, than the defeat of his rear-guard at Roncevaux, where he lost Roland his nephew, that hero of the fables of archbishop Turpin, and Ariosto. Wars in those days were very different from what they are now; no regular troops; no train of military operations. The prince convoked the vassals of the country; he marched against his enemies, returned very soon to his state, and disbanded his army.

Those excursions seldom produced any lasting peace. War was continually breaking out again. This method lasted several years. We do not see it entirely changed till under Charles VII. who established the companies of ordinance.

Seeing Charlemagne rapidly pass from one end of Europe to another, always in arms, either to subdue rebels, or to aggrandize his state; we should imagine he could
scarcely

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scarcely find leisure for the cares of government; but his genius extended to every thing; when he was not engaged in the fatigues of war, his mind was incessantly employed in the means of making his kingdom flourish.

Expeditions and voyages took up the summer and autumn; winter and spring were always spent at Aix-la-Chapelle: there, in the frequent assemblies of the nation, called the Camp of May, he regulated state affairs. One of his most famous establishments, was that of schools to teach grammar, arithmetic, and religious chanting; every monastery, every episcopal house was to have one. Ignorance was then so extreme, that it was required of priests, as a thing not very common, to be able to understand the Lord's prayer. The taste for sciences, which shone forth in the prince would, in a less barbarous age, have enlightened the nation. The celebrated Englishman, Alcwin, whom he loaded with riches and honour, would now be very little esteemed, though he was then a prodigy.

Charlemagne, by his council, formed a kind of academy, of which he chose to be a member, under the name of David. It was usual among the academics to take a borrowed name; some from sacred, others from

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from profane history. This rude establishment was, perhaps, more to be admired, than the French academy under the ministry of Richlieu, if we may judge of it, by the difficulty of making the advantage of study felt in minds uncivilized. The project of joining the Ocean to the Black Sea, by a canal of communication between the Rhine and the Danube, proves the greatness of the genius of Charlemagne. This enterprize miscarried, only by ignorance of the things necessary to carry it into execution.

The council of Francfort furnished the king with a singular occasion of taking a part in the ecclesiastical disputes. He there appeared on a throne with all the authority which is enjoined by the emperors. We may judge of it by a letter which he addressed to the churches of Spain, in which are these words: ‘ I have taken
‘ place among the bishops, both as an au-
‘ ditor, and as an arbitrator: we have
‘ seen, and by the grace of God we have
‘ decreed, that which ought firmly to be
‘ believed.’ This assembly, consisting of more than three hundred bishops, rejected the decision of the second council of Nice; acknowledged since as general in favour of the worship of images.

They

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They erroneously imagined, that the above decision confounded a service of respect, with that worship which is due only to God. It was the word Adoration, which alarmed people's minds; and that which was in itself meerly equivocal, as often happens, produced the most dangerous contention. Charlemagne, whether through zeal for a doctrine which he approved of, or through an ambition of distinguishing himself in a manner different from what he had done before, or from a desire of attacking the Greeks, and rendering them odious, declared himself author of a theological work, full of invectives against the fathers of Nice. He sent this book, known by the name of the *Livres Carolins*, to the pope. Adrian behaved with his usual prudence; in maintaining the faith of the church, he took care to give no offence to Charlemagne or the French nation; without exacting any thing of them, or denouncing God's vengeance against any one, he appeared satisfied that, in the kingdom of France, and elsewhere, it should be believed, that images ought only to be honoured, as referring to the objects which they represented. Policy had, perhaps, too much share in this indulgence, for interest we soon find closely concerned in Adrian's conduct; for instance,

instance, Charlemagne pressed him to excommunicate the emperor. He promised to declare him a heretic, if he refused to restore the lands belonging to the holy see. Could any one think, that the crime of heresy could depend on things so foreign to religion? Already master of one part of the imperial authority, the king of France aimed at a title, which the Greeks but feebly maintained. He had the good fortune to attain his desire, without seeming to seek it. As a Roman patrician, he had received from the new pope Leon III. a letter of homage, conceived in such terms as becomes a vassal to his sovereign. Some time after this, Leon meeting with ill usage from Banditii, had recourse to his protection: on which Charlemagne took a journey into Italy; and was received by the Romans, as a great king and hero. On Christmas-day he appeared in church in his patrician robe; when the pope, as he was going to perform the service, on a sudden advanced, and put a crown on his head: the people at the same instant crying out, ‘ Long live Charles, the august and pacific emperor of the Romans, crowned by the hand of Heaven.’ During these repeated acclamations, the prince seated himself on a kind of throne; Leon prostrated himself before him, declaring,

He

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He was no more patrician, but emperor. If we may credit Eginard, secretary to Charlemagne, far from attending with joy to so glorious a scene, his countenance discovered marks of the utmost chagrin. Was this chagrin sincere? if it was, we may at least doubt it; since no one could shew a greater jealousy of supporting his dignity, than the new emperor.

His thoughts were soon employed in a design of taking from the emperor of Constantinople, what he still preserved in Italy. The empress Irene; who, after having destroyed the heresy of the Iconoclastes, had cruelly put her son to death, in order to have the sole possession of the empire; fearing inevitable danger from Charlemagne, sent to him an embassy, to offer herself in marriage. The proposal was agreeable; every thing was concluded, when Irene was dethroned by Nicephorus. She found the same necessity of making terms with this terrible competitor, and sent him proposals of peace. It was agreed by treaty, That the title of Emperor of the East, should remain with Nicephorus, and that of Emperor of the West with Charlemagne. They bounded the limits of their possessions in Italy; where the Greeks preserved scarcely any thing. Here he formed a new empire; which still subsists, though

though it has been detached for several ages from the French monarchy.

The reputation of Charlemagne reached the ears of Calif Aaron Rachild, like himself, celebrated for his victories, and his love of the sciences. Two embassies from the Calif, the master of Persia, must appear more to his honour, than the tribute of all the people whom he had subjected.

Among the presents which they brought, the French were struck with nothing so much as a musical clock; the first which had been seen in the kingdom. The Arabs were greatly superior in industry to the French. They studied astronomy, physick, chymistry, at a time when we could scarcely read. Our nation has excelled in every thing; but it was a long time more uncivilized, than those who are again fallen into their ancient barbarity. Eginard relates some astronomical observations made before the ambassadors, which prove, that they aimed at science; while the falsity of these observations prove, that they could not then arrive at it.

After having vanquished the Saracens, subdued the Saxons, won Italy from the Lombards, likewise Bavaria from Tassilon, its last duke, with Austria and Hungary from the Abares or Huns; after having obtained the empire by the approbation
of

of the Romans, there was nothing wanting to complete the happiness of Charlemagne, but to assure himself of that of his children after his decease. It was long since he had made Pepin king of Italy, Lewis king of Aquitaine, Charles, the elder of the three, duke of Maine. Pepin, the crooked, the eldest of all, but by a concubine, had been shaved as a punishment for rebellion. In order to stifle all seeds of contention between them, he made his will, and communicated it to the lords, in case of a contest, which could not be decided by judgment: he ordered them not to have recourse to battle or duel, but to the arbitration of the cross; a ridiculous, senseless practice, by virtue of which, the cause was gained by him who remained the longest time immovable, with arms extended before the altar. Charles and Pepin both dying before Charlemagne, he made Lewis joint emperor with himself: this ceremony was performed with much pomp. Among other counsel which he publicly gave his son, were these words: 'Honour the bishops as your fathers,' said he, 'love your people as your children. With regard to refractory evil-minded men; constrain them to their duty by force. Chuse for your judges and governors, those, whom a just sense of religion

‘ gion has rendered incapable of corrup-
 ‘ tion; and, as to yourself, let your
 ‘ conduct be without reproach before God
 ‘ and man.’ After this discourse, he order-
 ed him to take the crown with his own
 hand; which had been put on the altar
 with a design of shewing him that he held
 it by the will of God only; and that the
 pontiffs had no right of disposing of it.
 This important lesson was too soon ef-
 faced. Bernard, the natural son of Pepin,
 and grandson of Charlemagne, was, at the
 same time, proclaimed king of Italy.

The emperor, at the close of life, had
 the mortification of foreseeing the ravages
 of the Normans; that was the name which
 was given to the people of Denmark,
 Sweden, and Normandy: they had already
 made excursions on the frontiers of his
 empire, which gave occasion to his ex-
 claiming with a sigh, in these words: ‘ If,
 ‘ notwithstanding my puissant greatness,’
 said he, ‘ they now dare insult the borders
 ‘ of my dominions, what will be the con-
 ‘ sequence after my death?’ His prudence
 inspired him with all possible measures for
 the security of the kingdom; he visited
 the ports himself, built innumerable ships
 of war, where (in case of necessity) the
 lords were to serve the same as in land en-
 gagements.

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gagements. Though these vessels were in appearance nothing more than large boats, yet such a navy was as great a proof of power, as it was of wisdom.

After eight days sickness, Charlemagne expired, like a Christian hero, at the age of 71, having reigned 46 years. A majestic height, extraordinary strength, joined to numberless victories, it is to be imagined, must strike his beholders, not only with admiration, but fear; but his sweetness, affability, and obliging behaviour, made him the object of general love: weeping the death of his friends, pardoning with more alacrity than he punished, interesting himself in the primitive affairs of his officers, spreading happiness around him, by the most pleasing gracefulness in his manner; instead of assuming any thing on that head, applying himself to the business of government, with the same industry as he could have done, had he had no wars to support; at the same time watchful over the education of his family, simple in his dress, but polished in his manners; eloquent, pious, charitable; but shewed little moderation where ambition or religious zeal was concerned. Several chapters, or ordinances, which he made at Aix-la-Chapelle, with the concurrence of his parliament,

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ment*, have been renewed by Lewis XIV. Learning was a sure recommendation to his favour, and a title to ecclesiastical dignity. He had a natural aversion to physic; and, indeed, rendered it quite unnecessary to him by temperance and exercise. He is censured for a want of chastity: five wives and four concubines, which history gives him, appear to authorize this censure; but what was then called concubinage, was a kind of marriage less solemn, though equally lawful with the other. Concubines were stiled wives of a lower order: the council had decreed, that a man should only have one wife, or one concubine, according as he chose. Charlemagne is honoured as a saint in several churches; which, with the silence of Eginard, is sufficient to refute the reproach of libertinism. A celebrated writer thus finishes the encomium of this great man: ‘ He was, perhaps, too sensible to the pleasures of love; but a prince, who took upon himself the laborious part of govern-

* A chapter of 801 was carried, *cum omnium consensu* (by consent of all); it plainly appears, that under the first and second line, public laws were only enacted by the joint consent of the nation. We may read in the chapters of Charles the Bald, *Lex populi consensu fit & constitutione regis*; but the nation does not seem to be more happy on that occasion.

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' ment, and spent his life in making his
 ' people happy, may surely plead an excuse
 ' for some indulgences. He had an admir-
 ' able regularity in his expences; he made
 ' his inheritance valuable by his wisdom,
 ' attention, and œconomy: we may see in
 ' his chapters, the pure and sacred source
 ' from whence he drew his riches, of which
 ' I will only mention one instance; he
 ' ordered, That the eggs which his poul-
 ' try produced, and the superfluous herbs
 ' of his garden, should be sold, at the same
 ' time that he distributed among his peo-
 ' ple all the riches of the Lombards, and
 ' the immense treasures of the Huns, who
 ' had despoiled the universe.' *The Spirit of
 the Laws.*

From the time that Pepin Heristal had
 introduced the bishops, in that quality,
 among the general assembly of the nation,
 their authority had been increasing, and
 was now growing to a dangerous height.
 Charlemagne, hearing that it would ex-
 tend itself over the army, prevented their
 performing the military service in person,
 to which they were originally bound (as
 well as other possessors of fiefs) by the te-
 nure of their lands. Some respectable au-
 thors suppose, that he established the tithes
 to supply the loss of the ecclesiastical
 estates, which the clergy had been deprived
 of,

of, and the army were not willing to restore. One proof that tithes, though claimed before, were then newly established, is, that the people submitted to them unwillingly, and it was found necessary to permit them to be bought off*. Thus Charlemagne having it very much at heart, to keep fair both with the clergy and the nobility, bestowed great benefits on the clergy, without infringing on the interest of the nobility. He forbid the custom of the church receiving donations, which was then too common a practice, to the detriment of near relations, whose right by nature it was.

He sent officers into the provinces; whose business it was to superintend the conduct of those in power, to watch over the administration of justice, to receive the complaints of the people, and to bear them to the throne. These officers were called royal messengers (*missi dominici*); they had every one their particular district, and were to appear there four times a year. Thus the sovereign had an eye, which stretched itself to the utmost boundaries of his empire; his representatives hiding

* M. L'Abbe is of a different way of thinking. Charlemagne says he might favour this kind of devotion; but we only find it was converted by him into a necessary tribute.

nothing from him, because he was desirous of knowing every thing. One chief directed the members of this vast body, and could alone maintain the order and harmony of it.

We may remark, that under his reign were the first sumptuary laws, for regulating the prices of stuffs and habits, suitable to the different ranks of life; these laws being necessary, as well on account of the want of commerce, as by the confusion which luxury introduces into society. Almost all trade was transacted at the public marts. The establishment of fairs brought (at certain seasons) many commodities from other countries; but that large commerce, which enriches a nation, could not be then known.

We may suppose a number of people assembled together, upon the business of merchandize, in the bosom of a great city, must give it the air of trade; but all being dispersed, the nobleman either repairs to court, or retires to his own estate; and the slave, of whom we shall speak very soon, is not allowed to quit his master's house, or the place of his nativity: the country was the residence of the monks, ecclesiastics and labourers being almost the sole inhabitants of the city. It is only by a slow and difficult

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progress,

progress, that arts and commerce can become flourishing.

Charlemagne established the custom of reckoning by livres, sous, and deniers; a little like what we do now, with this difference, that a livre was not only numery, but real; that is to say, a livre by tail, was equal to a silver one of a dozen ounces: the value of money by number is so very changeable, that the livre valued then at a dozen ounces of silver, is not now worth more than twenty pence in copper. Thus, according to the remark of Mr. de Voltaire, a community, who, in the days of Charlemagne had owed a hundred and twenty livres, would now have acquitted themselves at the expence of a crown of six francs.

The barbarity of their laws had permitted duelling, to supply judiciary proofs in the courts of justice; according to which rule, the strongest man was looked on as the most honest. This manner of judicial accusation, or defence, had extended its influence over ecclesiastics and monks; whose custom it was to hire men to take their battles upon them. One ordinance of Charlemagne's was, That these combats should be decided by cudgels; no doubt with a design to prevent bloodshed: Lewis the Meek, left the choice to the combatants,

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ants, either to use those, or more offensive weapons; the consequence of which was, that none but slaves would submit to fight with cudgels. *See the Spirit of Laws.*

The Latin ceased to be a vulgar tongue, about the ninth century, and a jargon was formed; a medley of the Franc, joined with bad Latin; which they called, the Romance Language, and which is since become French. How hard, for some ages, was it to render this language supportable? but a small number of excellent writers, under Lewis the XIVth, have contrived to make it the principal one in Europe.

LEWIS *the first, surnamed the MEEK.*

THIS reign gives us a striking picture of the misfortunes to which a weak and scrupulous prince is exposed, who neglects the duties of a throne to practise those of a cloister and who knows not how to distinguish between the true rights of the church, and the unjust pretensions of some of its ministers. Lewis, when king of Aquitaine, under his father Charlemagne, was reckoned valiant and generous,

rous, full of zeal and clemency ; but the softness of his temper had made him the dupe of his courtiers ; and his devotion not sufficiently enlightened, inspired him with a desire of becoming a monk ; a thing not unusual among the princes of that age. The counsels of Charlemagne taught him to reign ; deprived of that guide, he lost himself. His first fault was disgracing two men, who had the confidence of his predecessor, to bestow his favours on a pious abbot, who knew nothing of government. He very soon fell into a greater error ; that of sharing the kingdom among his sons, and admitting a partner in the empire.

Charlemagne had given the example, by taking the same step ; not at all dangerous then, because he knew how to make himself obeyed : nor did he nominate one of his children emperor, till after the death of the two others ; which was a time when there could be nothing to fear from jealousy. The event justified his conduct : that of Lewis, on the contrary, produced the unfortunate consequences which might have been expected. He assembled a parliament at Aix-la-Chapelle, and declared, That he took as an associate in the empire, Lothaire, his eldest son ; at the same time he made Pepin, his second, king of Aquitaine,

taine, and gave the kingdom of Bavaria to Lewis the youngest. The emperor, in weakening his authority, only gave birth to ingratitude; and drew on himself an enemy, whose revolt (though rigorously punished) was the source of all his misfortunes.

Bernard, king of Italy, looked on the empire as his right; from his being son to an elder brother of Lewis the Meek: irritated by an association so contrary to his views, and excited by some discontented bishops, he raised an army against his uncle, the emperor; it was rebellion against his sovereign, and therefore deserved a severe punishment. Those who had spirited him on, betrayed him; his troops abandoned him, without ever coming to battle; and he found no other resource than to throw himself at the feet of Lewis, and implore his mercy. He was tried, and condemned to death. The extent of the emperor's clemency went no further, than to change his sentence into the loss of his eyes: the same punishment was executed on his accomplices, except the bishops, whose characters he respected. The unfortunate Bernard died of the consequence; and the kingdom of Italy was reunited to the empire.

Though Lewis had not himself passed judgment on the criminals, though he had mitigated the sentence against his nephew, who was evidently proved guilty; yet the ambitious prelates found means to inspire him with bitter remorse. They knew what power religion would give them over a weak enervated mind: his wounded conscience delivered itself to their discretion: continually employed in psalms and pious lectures, he nourished a corroding scruple; which made him at length forget the duty he owed to his rank, and the interests of his crown. He convoked the assembly of the nation, and not only accused himself of the death of Bernard, (as if that prince had been innocent) but of the disgrace of several particular people, and the forced retreat of three natural sons of Charlemagne, whom he had confined in a cloister. He sent an earnest entreaty for pardon to the latter, and begged the bishops to admit him to public penance. So hazardous a step appeared then to be productive of no ill effects; the people were edified by it; the bishops applauded it. The zeal which Lewis had shewn for the reformation of the clergy, had drawn their hatred on him; but they now triumphed to see their authority increase, through the weakness of the prince. The popes had already
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taken advantage of it; Stephen V. and Pascal I. not having deigned to write for the confirmation of their election, by the consent of the emperor, before they took possession of the pontificate. Eugenio II. having followed the same example; Lothaire being then associated in the empire, complained highly of it, and re-established the ancient custom of sending to Rome the officers, called *Missi Dominici*, charged with the inspection of public affairs. In other points Eugenio II. conducted himself properly, with regard to France; particularly, in a very delicate circumstance, he behaved with the same temper as Adrian I.

The dispute concerning images had been revived; the bishops assembled at Paris condemned the worship which was rendered them in other churches. Eugenio found no fault either with the bishops or their injurious writings, nor did he order them to receive the council of Nice; and by his moderation and prudence, stifled the quarrel; which was, perhaps, the only means of avoiding a schism.

Nevertheless, Lewis ran blindly on his own destruction. Judith of Bavaria, his second wife; an intriguing ambitious princess, and one whose reputation was doubtful; had given him a son, named Charles; who seemed excluded from succession, by

the provision made for the children of the first marriage. His mother used her influence with the emperor, to ensure him a rank equal to his birth; she was on the point of making Lothaire consent, the only one who had great interest to oppose her. The empire was dismembered in favour of Charles, at the most critical conjuncture. A crowd of malecontents seized on this occasion to shew themselves. The celebrated Vala, a monk and abbot of Corbie, formerly powerful in the court of Charlemagne; revered as a saint, and capable of undertaking any thing, publicly reproached the emperor, in a bitter and outrageous manner. Lewis bore it with all the humility that Vala could have wished; and to abuse himself still more, he assembled the council, and submitted to their examination, all that was thought proper to be reformed, either in the state or his own person. The audacity of his subjects, thus encouraged, knew no bounds: Vala, whose reputation and credit had made him able to accomplish any task, under pretence of zeal for religion, declared himself on the side of the malecontents; several distinguished bishops joined him; they heated the minds of the people by recitals of incredible prodigies, and by invectives against Judith; whom they accused of a
criminal

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criminal correspondence with the prime minister : they at length drew in the three princes, who had been aggrieved by the last division of the kingdom, to rebel against their father ; who, not finding himself strong enough to oppose so many enemies, was reduced to make new concessions ; and consented, that his wife should be imprisoned, until a promise was ratified on his side, that if they would leave him the quiet possession of the throne, he would govern by the advice of his subjects. His imbecillity rendered him still more despicable ; and he was obliged to throw himself on the mercy of the rebels, who would have solemnly dethroned him, had not a sensible monk found means to detach the kings of Aquitaine and Bavaria from the side of Lothaire : this latter, as well as the others, obtained his mercy, but the contempt of royal authority was become an incurable evil.

Troubles were soon renewed. Lewis, in recalling to court the empress Judith, was under a kind of necessity of executing her vengeance : she caused Vala to be banished ; took from Lothaire the quality of emperor ; disinherited (in favour of her own son) Pepin, the king of Aquitaine, who was guilty of a second revolt : these remarkable actions could not do otherwise

than cause a defection in the minds of the people, against a prince, looked on as incapable of governing. The three brothers formed a new league. Lothaire persuaded pope Gregory IV. to declare himself for them, in a cause which was shocking to nature. This pontiff appeared at the camp of the rebels, publishing that he was going to establish peace. In vain did the emperor write to Agobard, archbishop of Lyons, to come to assist him with his advice. He refused to come, under pretence that it would be disobedience to the pope. Other prelates more faithful, wrote to Gregory in the strongest terms, to remind him of the oath he had made to the emperor; and declared, that if he persisted in his design of excommunicating him, he would in return be excommunicated himself. The pope's reply breathed a strain of haughtiness, that was unknown to the primitive church. Vala and others, having convinced him, (from a compilation of passages) that he had a right of judging all, without being liable himself to the judgment of any one. There was now no other resource for Lewis but arms. The two armies being then in Alsace, ready to engage, the rebels (through policy) consented that Gregory should treat with the emperor. During these conferences, they corrupted his

his troops. This unhappy prince, abandoned and betrayed, surrendered himself to his children. ‘ In the state, to which my misfortunes have reduced me,’ said he to them, with a firm tone, ‘ I fear little for myself; but may I hope that you will do for the empress and your brother, that which you have so often promised me? Remember, at least, what you owe to their rank and birth.’ Promises cost nothing to those who do not design to keep them: they were prodigal in fine speeches, and finished by banishing the empress, deposing the emperor, and giving the empire to Lothaire. The pope, who, doubtless, did not foresee that things would have gone so far, returned to Rome, ashamed of having been the instrument of perfidy.

We may here see the first example (in our history) of a signal enterprize of the clergy, against the persons of kings, and the rights of sovereignty: by giving to prelates too much power and riches, by suffering them to become the representatives, and, in some degree, the masters of the people, princes had furnished them with arms against themselves. These inconveniences, human nature is liable to. Virtuous men are rare, and often concealed: the greatest part less employed in their duty, than a desire of aggrandizing themselves,

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selves, lose not the smallest occasions of extending their authority or fortunes. One bold attempt succeeding, conducts them to the perpetration of a greater; nothing is more easy than to find pretences to colour injustice, at a time when ignorance casts a veil over truth: in fact, religion serves to cover attempts, which it disapproves; as we shall too often see in the series of our annals. It is a scandal which cannot be concealed: let us, at least, then endeavour to draw useful lessons from it.

The power of Lothaire appeared not firmly established, when the bishops proposed to him a part worthy his ambition; which was, to make the emperor submit to public penitence for his whole life; an infallible means, as they imagined, of depriving him of all hope of return; because the canons forbid penitents the use of arms, or to mix in civil affairs: they, without doubt, forgot, or were ignorant, that the penitent Theodore had never ceased to be emperor. Yet this project they followed. In an assembly of lords and prelates, Ebbon, bishop of Reims, a man of low manners and birth, whom Lewis had raised to the highest stations, declaimed, in a furious manner against him, and presented a memorial of accusations; where, among other things, he reproaches him with having
exiled

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exiled churchmen, with having made the troops march during Lent, and having engaged the people to fight against his sons; which was no more than saying, he was willing to restrain rebellious children. On these accusations, the emperor, without being heard, was condemned to public penitence, for the remainder of his days. They notified the sentence to him; he submitted, embraced Lothaire, and prostrating himself at the foot of the altar, threw off his sword and belt, and putting on the penitential sack, suffered himself to be conducted, with the usual ceremony, into a little cell, which was appointed for his residence. Such were the fruits of a blind submission to the will of men, who abused their ministry. The bishops would have remained subjects, had he known how to be a prince.

The inconstancy of the people soon took a turn from fury to repentance: the indignation of a great number of lords, irritated by the disgrace of their sovereign, joined to the remorse and interest of the kings of Aquitaine and Bavaria, who were equally jealous of their brother, and shocked at his haughtiness and indiscretion, all concurred to make a rapid revolution. The two kings took arms against Lothaire. He supported himself for some time; but on the point
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of being overcome, he surrendered to the invitations of the emperor, whom the bishops had reinstated on his throne, and who had lost nothing of his natural goodness. His son threw himself on his mercy. Lewis, not satisfied with barely pardoning, bestowed on him the kingdom of Italy, on condition he should not return into France without his orders.

The ambitious Judith, again returned to her former grandeur, daily sacrificed to the fortune of her son, the interest of her credulous lord : she caused the young Charles to be declared king of Nustria, to the prejudice of his elder brothers. Pepin, king of Aquitaine, dying about this time, she obtained a new grant, for a division of that kingdom betwixt Charles and Lothaire. The latter was the less chagrined at submitting to these terms, as his hopes were lessened since his revolt; but it greatly provoked the king of Bavaria, to whom paternal authority was nothing, when put in competition with grandeur. He delayed not to rekindle a civil war. The emperor marched against, and dispersed the rebels; but fatigue and chagrine, together with the fright, which was caused by an eclipse of the sun, threw him into a languishing disorder, of which he died, at the age of sixty, after having named Lothaire his

successor to the empire. He was heard to say, as he was dying: 'I forgive Lewis; but he knows he has been the cause of my death.' With an experienced valour; a natural beneficence; an uncommon sweetness of temper, by which he deceived himself more than once; a capacity, superior to what was generally seen in those days, Lewis the Meek was imposed on by the whole world; his best qualities became faults through excess, and he had not strength of mind sufficient to distinguish his own rights, those of the church, the true duty of a Christian, and the manner of uniting it with that of the monarchy. 'The apparent zeal of Charles magnified his power; the wrong-turned devotion of Lewis the Meek degraded his.' His misfortunes taught him, that he should have set bounds to his attachment to his wife, tenderness to his children, kindness to his subjects, and even to his piety. To exceed certain limits, is no longer virtue, but extravagance or weakness.

The part which the bishops and clergy acted (in those days) in the monarchy, will appear less surprizing, if we observe, that they were generally men of great quality, possessed of vast estates, and many vassals,

vassals, governing people, whose minds were full of the prejudices of a barbarous age, living chiefly at court, of which they contracted the manners; too rich and powerful to guard against the weakness of humanity, without extraordinary virtue.

A monk, called Alcuin, is reproached with having above twenty thousand slaves; and the emperor had made himself hateful to the bishops, by endeavouring to reform their luxury. They wore rich stuffs, swords, and belts, like military men, and daggers, adorned with precious stones, which hung from girdles of gold.

Some few of exemplary manners; such as Vala and Agobard, were the people made use of to instil false sentiments; which they taught as fundamental principles. The people looked on themselves as vindicating the sacred rights of the church, when they were invading those of the crown. An erroneous way of thinking in matters of religion draws after it an infinite train of consequences. Submission to royal authority is one of the first duties of Christianity; but they were taught to believe, that the pontifical jurisdiction ought to extend itself over the temporal power of princes. Several people, led away by this chimerical illusion, thought it their duty

duty to support it ; and blind zeal became a source of constant rebellion.

Among the ridiculous superstitious customs of these times, the judiciary proofs deserve particular notice. The empress Judith, being taken from the convent where she had been confined, to justify herself against the crimes of which her enemies accused her, swore she was innocent, and offered (at the same time) to submit to the fiery trial : such was then the means of wiping off scandal. They began by oath ; if the judges were not satisfied by that, they ordered it to be decided by combat ; or there remained the trial of fire, and that of water. The first consisted in handling a hot iron ; which, being blessed, and carefully guarded, was afterwards put into the hand of the accused person, which was wrapped round with a sack ; and that sack sealed. At the end of three days, if the prisoner remained unburnt, he was acquitted ; if not, he was condemned as guilty. The trial of water was most common among the people ; which was either to plunge the hand into boiling water, without scalding it, or to swim over a piece of water with the feet and hands bound. These trials were accompanied with the ceremony of prayers ; and they firmly believed, that
God

God would work a miracle, rather than permit an injustice.

Numbers of deeds, then looked on as miraculous, and which would now be known to be nothing more than little tricks and artifices, confirmed this absurd opinion. Justice was then, in some degree, a perpetual injustice; the guilty, generally more hardened, as well as more dexterous, than the innocent, had almost all the advantage on their side. These trials, established from the beginning of monarchy, were not abolished till the thirty-ninth century. One such abuse in the laws, things so essential to society, and suited to common sense, leaves no doubt of the frightful evils which must be produced by superstition, joined to a stupid ignorance.

CHARLES II. *surnamed the BALD.*

THREE sons, armed against their father, began to tear to pieces the vast empire of Charlemagne. Three brothers, divided against themselves, put the finishing stroke to it. Domestic jars, and the sacrificing to interest the feelings of nature, introduce

introduce trouble and hate into private families ; but among princes, they often cause the desolation and ruin of the state.

Charles the Bald, the son of the empress Judith, so favoured under the late reign, had assigned, for his share, the kingdoms of Nustria and Aquitaine ; Lewis of Bavaria possessed Germany : both of them exposed to the enterprizes of the ambitious Lothaire, as unkind a brother, as he was an unnatural son. Resolved to invade their dominions, he began by intrigue, and very soon employed force. The two kings united against the emperor ; the bloody battle of Fontenoy in Burgundy proved the obstinacy of the parties. It is said there were an hundred thousand men killed.

Lothaire, vanquished in fight, found a resource in policy. The Saxons, in the time of Charlemagne, were not sincerely converted ; for violence may make hypocrites, but not Christians. In order to attach the remaining part of this nation to himself, he offered them an entire liberty of conscience : the chief part returned with joy to Paganism, and entered in shoals into his army ; notwithstanding which, he was no more fortunate, but still fled before the united kings, who profited rightly by the conjuncture, and renewed the machinations

tions which he had practised against his father.

Having assembled several bishops at Aix-la-Chapelle, they desired them to declare Lothaire unworthy of reigning; the prelates, after having deposed by a word the last emperor, looked on themselves as the arbitrators of crowns; the decision was unanimous: they demanded of the two princes, if they would govern more wisely than Lothaire; which they found no difficulty in promising. 'Receive then the kingdom, by the authority of God,' said the bishops, 'and govern according to his will. We exhort you, we command you.' Lothaire, who knew how to bend to necessity, at length sued for the peace, which his brothers had vainly offered him. They made a new division: Aquitaine and Nustria, or properly speaking France, remained with Charles the Bald; Lewis had all Germany, from whence he received the surname of Germanick; Lothaire, besides Italy, Rome, and the title of Emperor, had Provence, Francke, Comte, Lyonnois, and the country bounded between the Rhone, the Rhine, the Saone, the Mease, and the Escaut.

Civil wars deliver up a nation to the insults of its enemies, and to the enterprizes of the seditious: the Aquitaines and the Britons

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Britons often rebellious, the Saracens always greedy after conquest, the Normans never failing to profit from them, that savage people, whom even Charlemagne could scarcely keep within bounds, made several incursions into the heart of the kingdom, burning, sacking, and pillaging the towns and villages; they only spared the children, in order to bring them up as pirates: loaded with immense booty, they departed to sell it on the borders, and soon returned with new fury. Rouen and Paris only escaped them. Charles the Bald gave them seven thousand livres of silver, on condition that they would leave the kingdom; and they swore, by their gods and their arms, never to enter it again, except to defend it; but an oath was not strong enough to bind, when the allurements of gain was put against it. The incursions of the Normans increased daily. The Seine and the Loire brought up their ships; no precaution, no fortified places could preserve them from this destructive torrent. It was at the price of four thousand livres of silver, that a shameful peace was purchased, which was violated with equal success. The French nation was the same as under Charlemagne; the government was very different; and that it is
which

which principally decides the prosperity of a state.

The three princes, reunited by a treaty, employed themselves in their true interest. In an assembly held at Mersen, on the Mease, they agreed, that the children should inherit the crown of their fathers, provided they shewed proper respect and submission to their uncles. This point had not yet been decided: when there was at any time several kings in the monarchy, if one of them happened to die, his children did not always succeed him; the nation looked on his throne as vacant, and only demanded that it might be filled by a prince of the royal house; by which means the strongest had always carried it: thus Charlemagne had prevented the children of Carloman, his brother, from the right of succession. The new rule, so proper to prevent civil wars, took place for the children of Lothaire.

This emperor, the scourge of his friends and his house, died in 855, under the habit of a monk, which he had taken some days before; hoping to gain salvation by this metamorphose. He had parted his dominions between his three sons; Lewis had the empire and Italy; Lothaire the kingdom of Austrasia, to which he gave his name, Lotharinge or Lorrain; and Charles, Burgundy

Burgundy and Provence. Their uncles formed no opposition against them; but this new division still weakened the monarchy, which was already dismembered in all parts.

The treaty of Merson had greatly bounded the royal authority. It was there agreed, that the vassals of a king should not be obliged to follow him, except in general wars, when it was to defend the state from a foreign invasion. The design of this article, was to maintain the union between the three princes; but they exposed themselves by it to the disobedience of their vassals. They also enacted, that every man should be free to chuse either the king or a subject for his lord. A fatal regulation by its consequences: the greatest part rather chose to depend immediately on a nobleman, than on their sovereign; and subjects acquiring (by that means) a crowd of subjects, became much more powerful than their master; and the feudal government, as plainly appears, very soon absorbed the supreme power.

Charles the Bald was not more happy or more prudent than Lewis the Meek. The nobility and bishops had for a long time given him sharp uneasiness; they mutually disputed a power, which tended to ruin his; the latter hotly demanded the
restitution

restitution of the church lands ; the former were desirous of rising above the bishops, and preventing their being future arbitrators of states ; more especially, to preserve from them the lands, which they pretended were necessary to their support, and which they held by the grant of the monarch. The king, in the general assembly of Epernay, favoured the lords, (who were not a little forward in bringing it to bear) and rejected the bishops ; who knew well how to make him repent it.

The excessive taxes, and vexations of all kinds, joined to the rebellions of the Aquitaines, and incursions of the Normans, rendered the government so odious, that almost a general conspiracy was formed to dethrone Charles the Bald. They invited the king of Germany to come and take possession of his brother's crown. This wicked relation arrived with a numerous army ; and the archbishop of Seins received him. In vain Hincmar of Rheines and other prelates opposed this usurpation ; the cabal carried it. An assembly of bishops, the arch one of Sens at the head of them, released the subjects from their oath of fidelity, and gave France to the usurper. Charles, who was then engaged in Aquitaine, returned immediately ; but his enemies debauched his troops, and reduced him

him to flight : happily for him, the king of Germany had the imprudence to send back a part of his army. His brother took advantage of this oversight : he shewed himself, and the enemy disappeared ; but an authority once given up, is not easily recovered ; instead of assuming the stile of a master, the weak monarch, in a manifesto published against the archbishop of Sens, argues in this manner : ‘ This prelate,’ says he, ‘ should not have deposed me, without first conferring with me, in the presence of the bishops, by whom I had been anointed king. I should, undoubtedly, have submitted to the judgment of those, whom I look on as the thrones of God, and by whose mission he delivers his decrees ; having always been ready to yield to their decisions, as I really do at this time.’

Was this acknowledgment, justifying the clergy, a means likely to render him master of the crown ?

The success of so daring an enterprize, encouraged them to run still greater lengths. The bishops of France, after this triumph over their sovereign, gained by his humble submissions, thought themselves able to undertake any thing against his brother, the Germanick : accordingly, when assembled in council at Mentz, they

sent to let him know, he was excommunicated; and that he must submit to the conditions they prescribed, in order to be absolved; as if their jurisdiction could extend over a king of Germany. Thus, by degrees, they were preparing a system of unbounded authority; the natural effects of ambition, which, even in the most holy state, endeavours to leap over all barriers, if the laws are not strong enough to restrain them: such was then the ideas the bishops had of episcopal rights, that while they acknowledged themselves subjects of the king, they yet thought themselves dispensed from the oath of fidelity. In an assembly of the provinces of Rouen and Reims, they wrote in these terms to Lewis the Germanick: ‘We, being bishops, cannot, ‘by the secular power, be made vassals, ‘or be forced to take an oath, contrary to ‘the protection of the scriptures and the ‘canons. It would be an abomination of ‘hands, anointed with the holy Chrism, ‘to serve to an oath; any more than the ‘tongue of a bishop, which, by the grace ‘of God, is the key of Heaven.’ The knowledge of science has banished these vain errors; and submission to the clergy is no more suspicious, since the true sacerdotal rights are acknowledged; and which,

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in their own nature, are the first to condemn the abuse of it.

But, to return :

A daughter of Charles the Bald, the wife of a king of England, ran away with one Bauduin, a nobleman of the French court ; the king afterwards consented to their marriage, and gave the earldom of Flanders to the ravisher : this was an event worthy of the preceding ones ; but the divorce of the king of Lorrain, or Austrasia, occasioned still more singular and more memorable scenes. Lothaire put away his wife, Teutberg, in order that he might marry his mistress Valdrada. Teutberg, accused of incest, endeavoured to justify herself by the trial of boiling water ; and was very soon so intimidated as to confess the crime : on this involuntary acknowledgment, the bishops, to fulfil the intentions of their king, declared, that he ought not to live any longer with the queen : in a second assembly, they pronounced it lawful for him to marry another wife. The marriage of Lothaire and Valdrada excited the anger of pope Nicolas I. a fierce, imperious, inflexible man. Terrified by his menaces, the king of Lorrain promised to submit to his judgment.

Two legates arrived at Metz, to judge a French monarch ; a thing never heard of

till then. Money corrupted these legates; and they approved of all that had been done; but the pope excommunicated and deposed him. An excommunication gave up the dominions of Lothaire to his uncles, the kings of France and Germany; who were resolved not to lose the advantage of it, when he recalled Teutberg, and made a shew of quitting Valdrada; but it was not long ere the queen was obliged to fly, and his concubine remounted the throne. That which was most astonishing, was, that Lothaire desired Nicolas to permit him to come to Rome, to justify himself, and was refused, unless Valdrada would be there first. Adrian II. more indulgent than Nicolas, whose death prevented fresh storms, consented to hear this prince, and received him to communion; after having made him swear, that he had no commerce with his mistress since the last vindication. Lothaire esteemed himself happy, in having purchased peace at the expence of a false oath. He died the same year, leaving no legitimate children.

Charles the Bald made himself master of the succession, and afterwards shared it with the king of Germany. By virtue of the treaty of Mersin, it seemed to have been the right of Lewis, the brother of Lothaire; who was then at war with the Saracens,

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cens, and could not support his rights. Adrian, looking on him as the bulwark of the church, determined to espouse his cause; prohibiting (under pain of excommunication, princes, bishops, or lords, from doing any thing to the prejudice of Lewis; declaring, at the same time, in a letter, That if Charles the Bald did not change his conduct, he would come himself to France, and make him sensible of the strength of the pontifical authority: indeed, it grew too powerful for crowned heads; notwithstanding, these menaces greatly irritated the nation.

Hincmar, archbishop of Reims, boldly replied to it, representing to the pope the indecency of his behaviour; shewing the respect his predecessors expressed even to pagan princes; the respectful manner in which they had always treated Pepin and Charlemagne; that kings held their power under God alone; that popes ought to employ themselves in the government of the church, and not in that of the state, for that it was impossible, at the same time, to be kings and bishops. Adrian II. deaf to these wise remonstrances, sent two legates, to forbid the king (in his name) from meddling with the kingdom of Lorraine; the king laughed at his prohibition: mean while, his son Carloman having

rebelled, and implored the protection of the pope, who declared himself in his favour; and, in a letter to Charles the Bald, treated him as an unnatural father, more cruel than the most ferocious beast: he proceeded to order him to behave with affection towards Carloman, and to re-establish him in commission; for it was no longer exhortations, but menacing commands, which came from the court of Rome. This last step had no more weight than the preceding ones. Soon after, Adrian thought proper to change his tone, foreseeing that Charles would be made emperor: to gain his good graces, he wrote letters to him filled with praises, and abandoned Carloman, who had no one to protect him. They then changed their friendships, as it suited their interest.

The successor of Adrian, John VIII. being convinced, that Charles the Bald, of all the princes of France, was the most capable of serving him, favoured his pretensions to the empire, which was then vacant; the emperor Lewis being dead of a consumption, and having no male children. As soon as the news of his death arrived, Charles passed into Italy, and was crowned emperor; but the pope affected to give him the empire by his own authority. ‘ We have judged him worthy of
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‘ the imperial sceptre,’ said he ; ‘ we have
 ‘ raised him to the dignity and power of
 ‘ empire ; and we have honoured him with
 ‘ the title of August.’ Till that time,
 neither the consent, or the consecration of
 popes were necessary to the election of em-
 perors. This unhappy desire, of encroach-
 ing on the rights of others, led them into
 the most fatal enterprizes, instead of ren-
 dering their authority more respected, by
 the purity of the religion they professed.

Lewis, the Germanick, seemed resolved
 to dispute the empire with his brother, and
 died as he was preparing for it. He left
 three sons, between whom he had shared
 his possessions. The emperor, desirous of
 usurping a part of this succession, one of
 his nephews, after some useless negocia-
 tions, gave him battle, and put the French
 army to flight. Thus we see civil war sub-
 sisting for a length of time between near
 relations, who became enemies through in-
 terest. Would they not have been more
 happy in living as friends, and being satis-
 fied with their inheritance ? Charles the
 Bald did not long survive this disappoint-
 ment. He died, it is said, of poison, given
 him by a Jew, who was his physician.
 This prince, cunning, deceitful, wicked,
 hated by people of all ranks, was, never-
 theless, fond of letters ; and scholars, who

were enriched by his bounty, have been prodigal in their praises of him.

His bad policy caused the declension of the monarchy. He would have restrained the bishops, and yet confessed himself accountable to them for his actions. He was desirous of attaching the nobility to his interest; and yet put them in a state of counterbalancing the sovereign power: besides, the regulations of Mersen, of which we have spoken before, one of his chapters of 877 enacts, 'That the earldoms and 'manors should descend to the children of 'the possessors.' His design, undoubtedly, was chiefly to please those who were then possessed of such dignities, without any intention of making this an absolute perpetual law; but the ambitious abuse the advantages which are bestowed on them. These earldoms, these manors, by their nature inalienable, were purloined from the dominion and state of kings, and gave birth to a new species of government, which was no more than a deplorable anarchy.

Successors to CHARLES the BALD, to the conclusion of the second line.

AS our design in this history, is only to remark the most interesting events, a single article is sufficient to comprize the conclusion of this line. The house of Charlemagne fell (in France especially) pretty much into the same state of that of Clovis, under the last Merovingians. All was confusion and disorder; the lords of the manor, in some degree, absorbed even royalty. The titles of duke, earl, and marquis, had originally meant nothing more than officers assigned by the king to the command of provinces; but they might now properly be called absolute masters of provinces. These noblemen took advantage of the weakness of government, to make private properties of the dukedoms, earldoms, and marquises; which very soon became estates, almost independent of monarchy. The bishops seized in the same manner on the episcopal cities, and their territories, more inclined to harmony and subordination. The members tore the body, in detaching themselves from the chief. Let us run rapidly over the least memorable reigns.

Lewis the stutterer, son of Charles the Bald, was proclaimed king, after several intrigues to reconcile men's minds. John VIII. pressed by the Saracens, had recourse to his protection, and went to Troys to hold council; where the first canon they made sufficiently expresses the spirit of the times. It was there not only ordained under penalty of excommunication, that all the powers of the world should pay honour to bishops, but even made criminal to be seated in their presence, without their permission. It was not by such statutes that the primitive fathers drew the veneration of the people. The king caused himself to be anointed by the hand of the pope, without the title of emperor, which was not given him, because he was too weak to be depended on for any succour in cases of necessity. He died in a short time, leaving behind him two sons, who succeeded him.

The French nobility on one side, and the king of Germany on the other, aggrandized themselves on the ruins of their country: the latter made them yield to him a part of Lorrain, and Boson established the kingdom of Arles or Provence. He was a lord full of ambition and address; who, being on the point of marrying his sister to Charles the Bald, and of marrying himself,

himself, at the same time, to a daughter of the emperor, Lewis the Second, had, for a long time, aspired to a crown. He gained the bishops, whom he saw capable of dismembering the monarchy. The sacred council of Mantua, in the territory of Vienna, assembled in the name of our Lord, and by the inspiration of his divine Majesty, with the nobility of the country (these are the terms of a letter of that council) elects and crowns him king of Provence. Thus the laws of the state were violated with impunity, and the blood of Charlemagne robbed of its incontestable rights. We may judge from the council being composed of twenty-three bishops, that the kingdom of Arles comprized Provence, Dauphiny, Lyons, the Franche-county, &c. The two kings made war on the usurper; mean while their dismembered states were exposed to the ravages of the Normans. Their reign was as short as it was unhappy; a distemper carried off Lewis: Carloman perished; wounded by a wild boar, which he was hunting, or by one of his people, who was striking at the boar. It is said, that Carloman, to preserve the man from punishment, declared, it was the animal which wounded him. This stroke of generosity was buried in the midst of crimes and public calamities.

There remained now to fill the throne, only an infant of five years old, named Charles, and son to Lewis the Stutterer; but France wanted a king, able to defend her against the Normans, and offered the crown to Charles the Big, son of Lewis the Germanick, when the states, being reunited under one head, would become the more powerful. He was overwhelmed with the burden, and could not support the dignity of a king. The Normans had made a treaty of peace with Lewis the Stutterer; but under pretence, that it was not binding with his predecessors, they endeavoured to make Charles purchase it, at the same price which had been paid before. As treachery is generally the resource of the weak, it was employed to defeat Godfrey, one of these barbarous kings; the French invited him to a conference, where a nobleman purposely provoked him with injurious words; Godfrey answered this insolence with a haughty disdain, and immediately the nobleman killed him with a stroke of his sabre.

This assassination gave the Normans a pretence to commit fresh ravages; they besieged Paris, which was then reduced to what is now commonly called the city; all the ancient machines of war, ballasts, battering-rams, fire-ships, were, by turns, employed

employed in this memorable siege, equally courageous and obstinate on both sides. Eudes, earl of Paris, whom we shall soon see on the throne, defended the town, in quality of grand captain: bishop Goslin seconded him, with his exhortations and valour. The abbe Eble, his nephew, a distinguished chevalier, (nothing having been more common for a long time, than to see abbeys in the hands of laymen) signalized himself, by prodigies of bravery.

After two years siege, Charles the Big came to their succour. The sight of the Normans intimidated him; instead of attacking them, he asked for peace, and obtained it at the expence of an immense sum. Loaded with contempt, dethroned by the Germans, reduced to misery, depending on their bounty for the means of life; he died of grief, unfortunate in having been born to a rank so much above his merit. In his youth he had rebelled against his father. The bishops, to instil into him a horror for that crime, made him believe he was possessed with the devil; he desired to be exorcised, to which they consented: from the time of this ceremony, the fear of the devil had always troubled his imagination, and he had fallen into extreme melancholy and weakness: we may remark

continued

continued instances of the most scandalous ignorance.

The defender of Paris, Eudes, son to Robert the Strong, duke of France, (who was killed in defence of his country) was proclaimed king, by the united voices of the lords and bishops. He had the prudence to declare, that being tutor to the young Charles, son of Lewis the Stutterer, he accepted the crown, only to preserve it for him. Nevertheless, a faction was very soon formed in favour of that prince, whom the archbishop of Reims crowned. Eudes, after having vanquished his enemies, had it in his power to ensure to himself the whole monarchy. The incursions of the Normans, the deplorable situation of affairs, perhaps, also, his own moderate sentiments, determined him to terms of accommodation: he kept the country between the Seine and the Pyrenees, and yielded the rest to Charles, acknowledging himself at the same time for his vassal: he died some time after, without having been able, by his great qualities, to remedy the evils of France.

Charles, too worthy of the surname of Simple, wanted not courage, but he had neither prudence nor genius; a change of government then might be expected. This reign is famous, for fixing the establishment

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ment of the Normans in the kingdom. The duke of Rollon, one of their princes, was worthy of founding a state; twice victor in England, he now attacked France, took Rouen, and fortified it; extending his conquests, he became so powerful, that Charles the Simple sent to offer him his daughter, with the country which is since called Normandy. He only demanded that Rollon should embrace Christianity. The Normans were not difficult with regard to religion; interest was their ruling principle. Rollon insisted on the addition of Brittany, and it was yielded to him: this treaty concluded, he went to pay his first homage to the king, less like a vassal than a victor. When he was told to throw himself on his knees, and to kiss the monarch's feet, (a custom made use of on such occasions) the haughty Norman refused to submit to it. One of his officers, who was ordered to do it for him, raised the king's feet so high, that it had like to have thrown him backwards; whether this was owing to awkwardness or insolence, the Frenchman was obliged to pass it over with a laugh, being too feeble to revenge it as an insult. Rollon, master of so fine a country, took on himself to become a Legislator. He might justly be esteemed a great man, since he destroyed the trade of robbery,

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and abolished from among the Normans, the custom of living only by pillage.

The race of Charlemagne was almost annihilated; five or six sovereigns, most of them usurpers, shared his vast empire: at length the imperial crown went out of the house of France. After the death of Lewis IV. the Germans disposed of the royalty in the following manner: Conrad, duke of Franconia, was made emperor, and Charles the Simple either forgot his birthright, or did not dare assert it. Incapable of reigning for himself, he took a minister, or rather a master, who governed under his name; this was Haganon, a man of an obscure original, but wise and courageous. The king never quitted him; the nobility could no longer pay their court to the king; whenever they waited on him for that purpose, they were incessantly told, the monarch was engaged with his minister. This answer, several days repeated, offended the duke of Saxony, who was some little time in France. ‘One of these two things will happen,’ says he, ‘either Haganon will be very soon king with Charles, or Charles will be very soon a private gentleman like Haganon.’ And as soon as he was gone, the prediction was verified. The noblemen, irritated against the minister, rebelled against Charles.

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Charles. Robert, brother to the late king Eudes, raised the rebellion, and was crowned. The rebel was killed by the hand of the king in battle; but Hugh, his grandson, revenged his death: the monarch vanquished, fled for refuge to a nobleman's house, who retained him as a prisoner. Hugh, refusing the crown, his brother-in-law, Raoul, or Rodolphus, duke of Burgundy, accepted it; and, to attach the court to his interest, yielded to them some of his new dominions. His whole reign was filled with seditions and rebellions. The Normans continued their incursions. Lorrain gave itself to the king of Germany; who formed a design of re-establishing Charles the Simple, but it proved abortive. This prince died in prison. Rodolphus survived him only a few years. His exploits did not change the face of affairs in the kingdom.

Hugh the Great, count of Paris, duke of France and Burgundy, of consequence sufficient to have taken the crown himself, preserved it for Lewis, the son of Charles the Simple, surnamed Ultra Marine; because his mother carried him into England, during the time of the troubles. This obligation to Hugh, obliged the young king to put himself in some measure under his tuition; but he grew in a short time
desirous

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desirous of taking the authority on himself: Hugh, who had been generous only through ambition, became all at once his enemy. Civil war broke out; the rebels called upon the emperor Othon of Saxony, and would have given him the kingdom: he was powerful enough to have invaded it; but whether through generosity, or through policy (for his presence was necessary in Germany) he declared himself in favour of the king, and the rebels were dissipated.

A shadow of peace gave birth to a great enterprize: William, duke of Normandy, son of the famous Rollon, died in 973, and left only one son, who was under age. Lewis Ultra Marine, flattering himself with the hopes of reuniting Normandy to the crown, first employed treachery to make himself master of the person of the young prince; he afterwards united his force with that of Hugh the Great to overrun the country. Hugh, according to the conditions made between them, ought to have had a share of the spoil; but the king broke his word, and was taken prisoner by Hugh, who obliged him to yield to him the county of Laon, one of the principal places remaining of his dominions, and to restore Normandy to the dispossessed prince. Hostilities continued between the monarch
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and the lord. The latter aimed at the throne. Lewis had recourse to the church: whose menaces were more powerful than his arms. Two councils, seconded by the pope, denounced excommunication against Hugh the Great, unless he came in person to justify his conduct: he not appearing, they fought with more fury; at length Othon accommodated affairs, and made peace: Lewis Ultra Marine did not long enjoy it; he died of a fall from his horse.

In a parliament held by that prince, it was debated, Whether the succession ought not to go on in a direct line? Whether, for example, the grandson ought not to succeed preferably to the brother? This question exhausted all the learning of the Civilians; the king ordered it should be decided by duel. Two champions entered the list, the one for the succession descending, the other against it; the former being victorious, the assembly declared in favour of the cause which he maintained, and it has ever since taken place. It was in this manner that the greatest affairs were then settled. Human reason seemed to be buried in darkness, as we may judge from the following anecdote: The count of Anjou was fond of chanting in the church choir; having heard that Lewis Ultra Marine had rallied

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rallied him for it, he very seriously wrote him these words: ' Know, Sire, that an ' unlettered prince is a crowned ass.' What strange ideas had they of literature and erudition?

Lewis had had the precaution to admit Lothaire, his eldest son, a partner in the crown. Hugh had appeared to aspire to it for a long time; but whether he foresaw great obstacles to his designs, or whether he was satisfied with the reality without the title, he protected the young prince, and reigned under his name. He lived only two years to enjoy this increase of power. Besides the dukedom of France, of Burgundy, and Aquitaine, he possessed several large abbeys, which his father had left him, and which he transmitted to Hugh Capet his son. The death of so dangerous a subject did not at all restore the tranquillity of the monarchy. The nobility all invaded its rights; each duke, each earl, looked on himself as independent; they generally formed a league against the king; or, if they were at war with each other, the monarch's power extended no further than to raise troops against the enemies of the state. France, torn to pieces by this crowd of petty tyrants, was a theatre of confusion and massacres: to establish this kingdom in its ancient splendor, had been the

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the work of a Charlemagne. Lothaire had qualities superior to mediocrity ; but there was occasion for sublime ones, which he did not possess.

After some years, a little more peaceful, he resolved to endeavour to make good his pretensions on Lorrain ; this kingdom, for a hundred years, had belonged sometimes to the kings of France, sometimes to those of Germany. The emperor, Othon II. not being able to oppose this enterprize of Lothaire's with force of arms, had the policy to set up another emperor. He offered to Charles, the king's brother, the Lower Lorrain, which comprized Brabant and the provinces between the Rhine and the Escaut unto the sea ; on condition, that he held it as a manor depending on the crown of Germany. Charles, having no estate, the proposal could not fail of pleasing him ; he took the oath of fidelity to the emperor, and established himself in the city of Bruxelles. The king, irritated against these two princes, ravaged the Higher Lorrain ; which is what is now called so. Othon, in his return, invaded France ; vanquished, and put to flight, he made a treaty more advantageous than he had any reason to hope ; they left him Lorrain, on condition of doing homage to the crown. Lothaire had found means to
reunite

reunite the noblemen, and had regained a part of his authority over them; he formed, perhaps, greater designs, when death prevented him, at the approach of his forty-fifth year.

Lewis, his son, succeeded him, and died in a year. This was the last king of the house of Charlemagne: they have surnamed him the Idle; for in a reign so short there was no time to be busy. Thus the Carliens and the Merovingians fell from a throne, which their vices, their incapacity, and their weakness had rendered unstable. A third race mounted it, and seated themselves firmly, in spite of the most violent commotions; and has remained in it for near eight hundred years.

One of the chief objects in history, is to observe the revolutions in the manners and government of the people. This nation was no longer like itself; it had been free under the first kings, having no other lord than the monarch himself: slavery insensibly established itself, and became almost universal: several things contributed to make it so; among others, the right of reducing to servitude, rebels and insolvent debtors; the voluntary sale or gift, which they made of themselves to churches and lords, either from devotion, either as payment of debts, or else to procure the means
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of life; but, above all, the violence of the nobility, who set no limits to the number of their slaves*, till, at length, we were become nothing but lord or slave. They distinguished between the different species of servitude; the domestic, and those of the glebe, or field labourers: these latter could not leave their master's land, or marry in another place, without his permission.

Slavery had then besotted their souls; which glowed no more with ardour for their country, no more with sentiments of patriotism. On the other side, every lord employed solely either to aggrandize or to defend himself, reckoned the interest of the nation as nothing, when it clashed with his own. Charles the Bald, by some fatal concessions, had authorized the licence, and, in some degree, given independence to the feudatories or subjects. The greatest part owned no other duty to the king, than forty days military service; provided it was in a general war, and against a foreign enemy. In cases of oppression, or denial of justice, they were able to arm against himself; consequently, nothing was more easy, than to form pre-

* Royalty felt the wrongs, which was the consequence of this abuse.

tences for rebellion. 'The under tenants of the crown,' says Mr. Henault, 'subject to the faith of the king, and his immediate vassal, were always in a doubtful situation, and knew not which to depend upon.' To the danger of these feudal laws; to the small revenue of the monarchs, whose dominions were almost entirely changing*; to the want of all policy of all understanding; and, let us add, the horrid state of the church, sullied with the crimes of several popes, whose manners were a disgrace to their calling: add to this, the enterprizes of the clergy; who pretended to judge in most civil affairs, giving for a reason, the relation they bore to the conscience; by which they assumed to themselves the right of secular jurisdiction, under the title of clergymen; imposing on families the obligation of enriching them; refusing sepulchre to whoever died without a will, or without having left legacies to the church; in fine, who abused the spiritual authority, to enslave the people

* This alienation had begun under the first race. Kings, to attach to themselves the leaders and great men, had accustomed themselves to give them portions out of the crown lands, which they called benefices; under this name they drew from the crown such liberalities, as often left their kings less rich than their subjects.

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and dispose of crowns. From such strange disorders must be produced a long chain of misfortunes, before authority and reason could replace every one in his proper station, and form a government worthy of human nature.

The third race. HUGH CAPET.

THE same causes in the moral, as well as in the physical world, produce the same effects. That which had raised Pepin to the throne of the descendants of Clovis, put Hugh Capet in the place of the descendants of Pepin. We have seen under the last kings of this race, authority vanish, the same as under the titular kings: an inevitable revolution from remote causes must, necessarily, put the sceptre into the most powerful hands. Hugh Capet, son of Hugh the Great, grandson of Robert, who was anointed king, grand nephew of king Eudes, and great-grandson of the famous Robert the Strong, was not less illustrious on the side of his ancestors than Pepin; he was also as ambitious, as brave, as politic, and employed almost the same means to attain the same end; he had

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much affability and sweetness, towards the world in general; much respect towards the clergy, and monks in particular; on whom he bestowed large estates and benefices, giving them back first those which he enjoyed; a great deal of exterior piety and religion; even so much as to carry on his shoulders the shrine of St. Riquier, who was much revered in those times. For a long time he had thus beaten his path to the throne. Charles, duke of the Lower Lorrain, had the most legitimate right, in quality of brother to Lothaire, and uncle to the late king. They pleaded against him the homage he had paid to the emperor for Lorrain; they painted him as an infamous man, as a deserter; in fine, partly by insinuation, partly by force, Hugh Capet caused himself to be anointed, and crowned at Reims without any obstacle; and at length fixed the crown in his house, by associating his son Robert with himself, who was anointed the year following.

One may judge from this account of the independence which the lords affected. The count of Perigord besieged the city of Tours. Hugh and Robert sent him orders to retire; on his refusal, they sent to him in the name of the two kings, to ask, who had made him a count? to which the
only

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only answer he made, was a repetition of the question, Who has made you kings.

Nevertheless, the duke of Lorrain, to maintain his birth right, invaded his kingdom, and overran Laon. Arnold, his nephew, had received from Hugh Capet, the archbishopric of Reims. This favour was repaid by ingratitude. Arnold delivered the city to the duke; but this prince lost Laon by a like treason. The bishop of Laon, his favourite, procured the king the means of surprizing him. The duke was made prisoner, and died two years after. Hugh, having no longer a competitor to fear, and fearing little from his subjects, whom he left to fight with each other; looking on it as an affair of importance, that the archbishop of Reims, who had deceived him, should be deposed; he assembled a council. Some bishops were for sending to Rome for judgment; but the bishop of Orleans maintained, that a prelate ought to be judged on the spot, according to the ancient custom of the church, and exerted himself against the pretensions of the court of Rome. ‘ If the popes,’ said he, ‘ are respectable for their virtue and learning, we have little reason to fear them, and we have still less, if they differ from us through ignorance or passion.’ Arnold

was deposed. Gerbert succeeded him; whom the people accused of magic, from his knowledge of the mathematics. Pope John XV. abrogated every thing that had been done by this council. His legate assembled another at Reims, where Gerbert was deposed, and the traitor Arnold acknowledged as lawful archbishop, and released from prison. Gerbert quitted France, and took refuge with the emperor, who raised him to the highest dignities; an example too rare to be any cause for hope to persecuted merit.

Hugh Capet died at Paris, which had ceased to be the seat of kings for more than two hundred years. This was an age of the deepest ignorance, and, of consequence, the greatest disorders in the church and state. There was scarcely any person who could read or write. Possessions being seldom held otherwise than by custom, want of titles, and marriages generally made without consideration, quarrels, usurpations, pretences of divorce, multiplied themselves infinitely. The clerks, or ecclesiastics, being the only people possessed of any tincture of knowledge, it was necessary that all affairs should pass through their hands. From this unlimited trust, which some abused through prejudice, and others through interest, they could,

could, with impunity, turn the laws and religion to their own advantage. Fraught with false principles and ideas, how could they keep within proper bounds? The church was never without some sage depositaries of its doctrine; but it was impossible to resist the torrent. The name of Clerk, affected by the ecclesiastics, extended itself over other professions, when they were perceived to have any knowledge in sciences. They always called a learned man, or one that was esteemed so, a great Clerk.

ROBERT.

ROBERT already formed to government, which he had shared with his father, had many more troubles to struggle with, on the side of Rome, than on the side of France. His marriage with Bertha, widow of the count de Chartres, drew on him an unexampled persecution; he was related in the fourth degree to this princess; he had also answered for one of her children, by her former husband, at the font of baptism. Several bishops, consulted on this double sin, either gave them a dispensation, or au-

thorized the marriage; but pope Gregory V. was willing to catch hold of the opportunity of disturbing the repose of the kingdom, in the only affair which could raise a clamour. He decreed, in a council of Italian bishops, that the king should immediately quit his wife, and that they should both do penance for seven years; likewise, that the archbishop who married them, and all the bishops who consented to the wedding, should be denied the sacrament, until they, in person, gave satisfaction to the sovereign pontiff. A decree so injurious, so contrary to ancient discipline, so likely to make the bishops and the nation rebel, produced the strangest effects. Robert refusing to obey, the greatest part of his bishops excommunicated him, and went to throw themselves at the pope's feet; his nobles broke off all commerce with him; it was with difficulty he retained any of his domestics; such as he did, were struck with terror, and threw what came from his table into the fire; as if the touch of an excommunicated person was infectious. We are at this time of day fully convinced, that excommunication is a spiritual punishment, and ought to have no civil effects; especially with respect to princes, and other depositaries of authority. They then thought otherwise. A person under
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the sentence of excommunication, was no longer looked on as a king, a citizen, or a man, but a monster; to be cut off from the communion of the faithful, and to forfeit the crown, and the rights of humanity, were, in the common opinion, the same thing: an error too likely to overturn the Christian world. Let us resume the thread of our history. Never did superstition appear more contagious, or more senseless. The monks of those days relate, that the queen lay with a monster, who had the neck of a goose; and P. Daniel did not dare to reject this absurd fable. Abandoned by his subjects, the king, at length, consented to be separated from his wife, and submit to penitence. The pope obliged him likewise to re-establish Arnold; whose perfidy had drawn on him the anger of Hugh Capet. If Robert had had the firmness to withstand the pope, he would have risked the loss of his crown.

Some military expeditions employed the following years, and turned to his advantage; but he was alarmed by the birth of a sect, which spread itself in the kingdom, by means of an Italian woman. Her heresy was a little of the same kind with that of the Albigenes. Many people, among whom were several of the most learned ecclesiastics, had embraced it. They

were condemned to the fire; and, for a time, fanaticism appeared to be extinguished by the torments, which, in reality, increased its violence. The king and queen were present at the burning of these unhappy wretches. It was a spectacle, as shocking to the religion they professed, as it was unworthy of the royal majesty; but the manners of those times taught nothing but barbarity. The emperor, Henry, dying without issue, through a singular devotion, which had engaged him in a vow of virginity, in concert with the holy Cunigunde, his wife, the Italians, tired of the German dominion, offered the kingdom of Italy, together with the imperial crown, to Robert. He had the prudence to refuse them: the essential point being, to fix himself firm in the state which he possessed, rather than expose it, for the sake of aggrandizing himself, to the dangers of a ruinous war, and the caprice of an inconstant people. After having taken, as partner in the crown, (by the advice of his second wife, Constance) Hugh, their elder son, who died in the flower of his age, he was desirous of putting Henry, the elder of his remaining children, in his place. Constance was not fond of Henry; this haughty and ambitious princess employed every kind of artifice to engage him to prefer

prefer a younger one. We ought to observe, that the crown, now constantly hereditary in the royal family, was then elective, with respect to the princes who composed it. The six first capital kings, having had their elder sons anointed, during their own lives, this order of succession is since become a fundamental law of the state, which has never been departed from. Robert persisted in his design, and Henry was anointed in an assembly of the nobles.

The temper of Constance, soured by this choice, discharged itself, not only on her eldest son, but on the younger, Robert, whom she would have forced them to elect. A generous friendship united the two brothers. The queen persecuted them in such a manner, as forced them to rebel. They forgot their duty, flew from the court, and began a civil war. The king was obliged to take up arms against two beloved children, whom a wicked mother had rendered criminal. Their ready repentance consoled him. He died in 1031, universally regretted. He was a mild, pious, industrious prince; fond of letters, but lived in an age too full of errors for him to be free from them. It is said, that in order to prevent false oaths, at that time too common, he made the parties swear upon the

shrines, from which they had used the precaution to take out the relicks; imagining they escaped perjury, by not swearing on the relicks. Helgaud, a monk, who wrote his life, relates an anecdote of him, which does much honour to his charity, but little to his prudence: ‘Some sharpers once followed him into his apartment, under pretence of asking alms; one of them, after having cut off one half of a gold fringe, was endeavouring to seize on the other.’ ‘Do you go,’ said the good king, ‘you have had enough; the remainder will serve for your comrades.’ When the queen had assumed the government of his house, he was careful to conceal from her his good deeds. ‘Take care that Constance does not know it,’ said he, whenever he rewarded his domestics. Something miraculous is attributed to him; they pretend that he was the first king of France, who had the gift of curing the evil. The greatest praise that can be given him, is contained in these words: ‘He was king of his passions, as well as of his people.’ What has been said, is sufficient to convince us, that knowledge is necessary to direct virtue.

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HENRY I.

THE first business of the queen, after the death of the king, was to renew her intrigues against Henry. Passions, which stifle the sentiments of nature, know no laws. This unnatural mother raised a party for young Robert; whom she made raise the standard of rebellion against the same brother who had been his friend. The king, encompassed with perils, flew to the duke of Normandy: with the succours which he received from thence, he dissipated the seditious, forced the queen to sue for peace, forgave generously his brother, and ceded Burgundy to him. Several other expeditions, in the heart of the kingdom, are proofs of his resolution and courage.

Interest very soon made him forget the obligation he had to the duke of Normandy. Robert the Devil, (that was his name) was desirous of making a pilgrimage to the Holy Land; the fashionable devotion of the times; which was looked on as the most efficacious penance, and which had led many more Normans to it, as they had drawn from it both profit and glory. Forty of their countrymen, in their re-

turn from this pilgrimage in 1003, had saved Salerno, when the Saracens were on the point of overrunning it. Other Normans, more especially the son of Tancred of Hauteville, animated by this exploit, threw himself on Italy, and founded the kingdom of Naples and Sicily. Such inroads became very interesting for Normandy; besides that it is often a sufficient reason for establishing an extraordinary custom, that it has been begun. The nobility, nevertheless, exerted themselves to dissuade Robert the Devil from so dangerous an enterprize. He had only one natural son, surnamed at first the Bastard, and afterwards the Conqueror. He declared him his successor, assuring him of the protection of the king; he then made his journey to Jerusalem, and died on his return home. Henry made no scruple of attacking the young William, and, declaring himself for a rebel, armed against him. The French were thrice beaten, and the Norman prince fixed in his dominions; of which we shall see how worthy he proved.

The bad health of the king required the precaution of crowning his eldest son Philip: having assembled the bishops, the abbots, and the nobles, he desired them to acknowledge, as his successor, this

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prince of seven years old, and to take the oath of fidelity to him ; to which they all joyfully consented. As the assembly was held at Reims, the archbishop of that city took advantage of this occasion to strengthen his privileges. He endeavoured (in a long discourse) to prove, that the right of anointing the kings of France, belonged to his see, by the decree of pope Hormisdas, in the time of Clovis ; a chimerical decree, according to the remark of the abby Velly, since it is certain, that the ceremony of anointing was unknown during the first line. In thus tracing things to their source, we find that the greatest part of what are called prerogatives, are founded rather on ancient custom, than on ancient title. Henry died a few years after the coronation. He had married for his second wife, the daughter of the king of Russia. The fear of ecclesiastical quarrels, determined him (with reason) to seek so distant an alliance ; as it was forbidden to marry a relation, as far as the seventh degree ; which made an infinite number of impediments to marriage, and often rendered those engagements soonest broken, which ought to be most durable.

Under this reign was established, what is commonly called, the truce of our Lord, in 1041. France was full of castles, where

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where the poorest lords were tyrants ; every one pretended to have a right of doing justice with his own hand ; which was nothing less than a power of murder and robbery. To remedy this disorder, a law was first made, That, from the Saturday to the Monday, no person, either monk, clerk, artificer, or labourer, should attack his enemy : this was followed by another, which ordained, That from the Wednesday evening, to the Monday morning, in remembrance of the last mysteries of the life of Jesus Christ, (for devotion mixed itself even with those atrocious manners) nothing should be taken by force, nor any revenge exacted for an injury. This law was called the Truce of our Lord ; which, they said, was inspired by God. What times were these, when there was no safety but on certain days of the week, and when it was permitted to murder and rob on all others !

PHILIP I.

THE conquest of England by the duke of Normandy, the power assumed by the popes over regal authority, and the rise of the holy wars, has made the reign.

reign of Philip a very distinguished æra. Had this prince been blessed with superior qualities, as a king, he would have had a larger share in these great events; but he is only famous for what he saw done by others. His father had given the regency to Baldwin, the earl of Flanders; a wise prince, who governed under the name of the Marquis of France, until the year 1067. The regency then ended, though the king had only reached the age of fifteen. Several other examples prove, that the minority was not then fixed to a certain period, as has been generally supposed. The received opinion is, that until the ordinance of Charles V. which declared kings of age at fourteen, they had not been reckoned so till twenty-one or two; but it plainly appears, that custom varied in that respect, and depended chiefly on circumstances.

St. Edward, the king of England, married to one of the greatest beauties of the age, had, from mistaken notions of religion, determined never to consummate his marriage. This indiscreet vow of celibacy, was the cause of a fatal revolution before his death: Edward had designed the duke of Normandy for his successor; at least William assured himself of being so, and founded his pretensions on the real,
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or supposed dispositions of that prince. He engaged in the conquest of England; an enterprize in which many others had failed. The ambitious duke gained his end; he there established his dominion by arms, and afterwards confirmed it by law. The title of Legislator, (which he merited) instead of the original one of Bastard, would have done him more honour, than that of Conqueror.

Gregory VII. (whose policy we shall unravel) loads him with praises. He was desirous of engaging him to take the oath of fidelity, doubtless that he might receive the tax of a penny from every house, called Peter's pence; which the English had formerly imposed on themselves, in favour of the popes. William replied to the summons of the legates, That he would willingly consent to the tax, but not to the oath; and instead of the homage, which was demanded of him, he forbade his subjects the going to Rome. The king of France did not intermeddle with his conquest; but ten years afterwards supported the revolt of a son of William, to whom that conqueror had given Normandy. This son had demanded of his father, to put him in possession of Provence; to which he replied in these words: 'It is not my custom to undress myself, till I chuse to

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‘go to bed.’ The consequence of this was arms; but a reconciliation soon took place.

A more vigorous war was kindled between Philip and William; which took its rise from raillery. The king of England was excessively large, overgrown with fat, and had been obliged for some time to keep his bed. Philip, who was naturally inclinable to jesting, (a dangerous quality in princes) said one day to his courtiers: ‘What time is it then, that this big-bellied man expects to be brought to bed?’ William was told of it, and was irritated. ‘I will,’ says he, ‘be churched in Paris, with ten thousand spears, by way of wax candles.’ Nothing could be more ferocious. He began by besieging Mantua, which he burnt; when, being seized with sickness, (happily for Philip) he caused himself to be carried to Rouen, where he died. During this interval, the famous Hildebrand, a man of the lowest birth, who, from the obscurity of a cloister, was raised to the highest honours, became pope, under the name of Gregory VII. a man of austere manners, hard and inflexible by nature, as well as through principle; he formed a plan of absolute dominion over crowned heads. His system was, that the pope, formerly a subject of emperors, had a right of
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of deposing them, and of absolving the people from the oath of fidelity, when given to an unworthy prince. He pretended, that the Empire, Spain, England, Poland, Russia, &c. were held under the Roman pontiff, and owed homage to him. He had already extremely aggrandized the dominions of the holy see, by the donation which the Countess Matilda, his penitent, had made to its state. The emperor, Henry IV. maintained the custom of giving possession of benefices by the cross and ring; a ceremony by which they never pretended to confer any spiritual power. ‘Of what consequence,’ says (very judiciously) Ives of Chartres, a celebrated bishop of those times, ‘is it, that this concession of benefices is made by a sign of the hand, a motion of the head, by speech, or by a cross; since kings allow, that it is not in their power to bestow any thing spiritual, but only to consent to the election, or to agree to the gift of those lands which the churches hold from their liberality?’ It was, however, said, that this manner of investing, brought religion into contempt; and to destroy this scandal, it was necessary to set Europe in a blaze.

False notions often give birth to the greatest misfortunes. Gregory VII. on so trivial

trivial an occasion, excommunicated and deposed the emperor.

France was not able to preserve itself from his tyranny; his legates there exercised every kind of despotism. Philip (wholly occupied by pleasures) left them to themselves, while the pope every day gained ground in his territories. The nomination of some prelates, perhaps improperly, kindled the fiery zeal of Gregory: He wrote to the bishops of that kingdom in these words: 'Your king is a tyrant, unworthy to hold the sceptre; he passes his life in guilt and infamy.' He then ordered them (if he was found incorrigible) to refuse him both communion and obedience; at the same time he put the whole kingdom of France under the censure of the church. He likewise ordered the French to pay the tribute, which the English had imposed. They had the courage to resist his orders on that head; which he would not long have borne, if the emperor had not employed his mind with other cares.

Philip drew on himself, by his vices, a more obstinate persecution. His love for variety had given him a distaste for his wife, Bertha. Nothing was so easy or so common as divorce, in times when the least degree of affinity rendered marriage void.

void. He proved, (by false genealogies) that he was related to Bertha; and made that a pretence for putting her away. Bertrade, wife to the earl of Anjou, having inspired him with love, he took her by force from her husband, and solemnly married her. This scandalous marriage excited the complaints of several bishops, and especially Ives of Chartres; a man inaccessible to the seductions of the court. Urban II. successor to Gregory VII. assembled a council at Autun, where the king was excommunicated. The pope, at the same time, came to France, to hold at Clermont the famous council which gave birth to the holy wars. (This last subject we shall treat of particularly.) Fresh excommunications took place, not only against Philip, but against those who dared to give him the title of king, or lord, or speak to him, unless it was to convert him. The nation seemed ready to rebel. Philip, fearing a revolution, promised to separate from Bertrade: he was scarcely absolved from censure, before he recalled, and had her crowned by two bishops. The death of Bertha, the protestations of Bertrade, who insisted on her marriage with the earl of Anjou being null and void, the same acknowledgment from the count himself, seemed to allay those storms, which are
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equally fatal to the sovereign and the state. But the disposition of Gregory VII. descended to his successors. Pascal II. sent his legates to France, who convoked a council at Poitiers. The duke of Aquitaine there declared, that he would never suffer his king to be excommunicated in his presence. Seeing that all he said had no effect, his indignation was raised; some bishops, several lords, and an enraged multitude, joined his cause. The legates were immovable. They pronounced the sentence of excommunication. The tumult redoubled in the assembly. A stone thrown at one of the legates, broke the head of an ecclesiastic. The council-hall became a field of battle; but the sentence had passed, and the evil was without remedy.

The king, in this perilous situation, prudently took his son Lewis (who was then near twenty years old) into a share of the government. This was a prince of uncommon merit; he repressed the mutinous, and crushed rebellion. His authority, and his victories, excited the hatred of Bertrade: she had two sons by Philip, whom she was willing to raise to the throne. Perfidy and poison were employed to defeat Lewis. A physician saved him from the fury of his stepmother. His death
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would have drawn after it, the ruin of the king; but passion had so blinded him, that instead of breaking with Bertrade, he thought only of effecting a reconciliation between her and his son. Having every thing to fear from an austere pope, he offered to submit to penitence, petitioning that his marriage might be authorized. We might now see the bishops, who, actuated by true zeal, had opposed the disorders of this prince, particularly Ives of Chartres, openly espouse the moderate party; while those who had done it through a compliance with court intrigues, affected a severity as suspicious as dangerous. The moderate party had the address to make the pope enter into their views. He consented to absolve the king, after he and Bertrade had sworn to break off their criminal correspondence. They agreed to the oath, absolution was granted them, and the marriage intercourse probably renewed; for they continued to live together without the church intermeddling. If the sovereign pontiff had always conducted himself as a pastor ought, France had never been shaken by such violent storms. It was at the council of Clermont, where Philip was excommunicated by Urban II. that this pope inspired an ardour for holy wars. Gregory VII. had formed

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an enterprize of the like kind. His design was to go in person to recover the Holy Land, but the affairs of Europe diverted him from this great project: the glory of which was reserved for a simple hermit of Picardy. The Turks, destroyers of the empire of the Califs, at that time possessed Palestine. Though enemies to the Christians, they tolerated their pilgrimages, (on account of the profit which they drew from them) without interfering with their religion or their persons.

Peter the Hermit, on his return from Jerusalem, so eloquently painted the profanation of places, once the habitation of the Saviour of Mankind, and the severities to which the pilgrims were exposed, of which he had himself felt the weight, that Urban II. moved therewith, thought proper to put all Europe in motion. He sent envoys into the courts and cities, to excite the zeal of the princes and people. The ardent missionary succeeded to a miracle; his enthusiasm had a lively effect on minds, whose warmth made them not capable of much reflection. They talked of nothing but marching for Palestine, that they might revenge the Christians, and deliver the holy sepulchre from the tyranny of the infidels. The pope seized an occasion so favourable. He convoked the council of Clermont,

Clermont, where the concourse was prodigious. He made a public harangue, in which he deplored the miseries of Jerusalem. He made it appear how desirable a war was, 'which interests,' says he, 'the glory of God, and which cannot fail of drawing down a blessing on it.' 'God wills it! God wills it!' resounded through the assembly. This was the cry of the Warriors of the Cross; which was the name that was given to those who enlisted themselves in the service of the Holy Land; because they carried a cross of red stuff on their habits. Princes, bishops, lords, monks, women, children, old men, all put on this signet; some to escape from their creditors, (for it was forbidden to pursue those who wore the badge of the cross, on any pretence whatever) others in the hope of making their fortune, or to signalize themselves by their exploits; several in order to be discharged from any other penance; (a full indulgence being allowed to those who embarked in the cause of the cross) in fine, the greatest part were influenced by motives of devotion, joined to a taste for novelty, and the dazzling splendor of this enterprize. It agreed singularly well with the genius of the nation. The French, lively, warlike, and unquiet, were impatient of repose. An appearance

appearance of heroism transported them: religion, either well or ill understood, increased their impetuosity and ardour. They went so far as to send a distaff and spindle to those who refused to engage in the war of the cross.

In an age less superstitious, we should think these long pilgrimages were subject to infinite abuse; we should imagine, that true devotion could never make us abandon the duties of a prince, bishop, father, or citizen; could never make us think, that bloody wars could be pleasing to a God of peace, or that we ever should engage in them, but through necessity; we should think, that if the tomb of Jesus Christ was profaned by the Turks, it was essential for the Christians to honour him by the sanctity of their manners; or at least to take prudent measures, and not to believe that a banditti, without chief, and without discipline, could be invincible, only by wearing a red cross on the shoulder. But enthusiasm is little capable of reasoning. Europe was dispeopled, and innumerable troops of Crusades took different roads; fourscore thousand having Peter the Hermit for their general. These military devotees pillaged and murdered the Christians in their passage, and massacred like other robbers. Those who arrived in Greece,

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filled the emperor with just alarms. Armies, more worthy of that name, conducted by nobles, joined them on the borders of Constantinople. Their expeditions appearing of no consequence to our history, it is sufficient to say, that Jerusalem was carried by assault; of which the famous Godfrey of Boulogne was made sovereign; and that of seven or eight hundred thousand men, who left Europe, there remained only twenty thousand effective men when the place was besieged. No monarch engaged in this first crusade. They only permitted their vassals and subjects to go with the stream. Hugh, brother to the king of France, Raimond, the old count of Toulouse, Robert, duke of Normandy, Godfrey, of Boulogne, duke of the Lower Lorrain, Stephen, Earl of Chartres, were the principal chiefs. Philip, who was contemptible through his vices, perhaps appeared still more so for not taking the cross. It was, however, good policy. He remained tranquil in his kingdom. After an inglorious reign of more than forty-eight years, he died, it is said, under the habit of a monk; a kind of devotion too common in those times, which cost nothing more than change of dress. It is owing to this custom, that the monks reckon in their calendars

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calendars so many princes, lords, and illustrious ladies.

The holy wars (the motive of which deserves respect, and the abuse of which cannot be too much lamented) answered, at least, one end; that of re-establishing the royal authority: the nobility, in order to enable themselves to take these long journeys, sold large estates; which, by that means, were reunited to the crown. They ascribe to this time, the invention of heraldry. It was necessary, in this crowd, to distinguish the banners of the noblemen from those of their vassals; and as they were all covered with iron, they could only be known by some emblem, which every one put on his arms: they preserved these symbols, as marks of honour, by which they were distinguished at their tournaments, and the mode was generally established. We should here take notice of a considerable change in the manner of making war. Cavalry, almost unknown under the first line, was become the principal strength of an army; it was that which brought in use helmets, cuirasses, cases for the arms, and all that heavy armour, with which the horse and rider were loaded, and the inconvenience of which was felt more than once.

LEWIS VI. *surnamed the Big.*

THE holy war, exercising the courage and ambition of the nobility, had given many years repose to the late king. His dominions were a little increased. Nevertheless, they were still much bounded; and when Lewis began to reign alone, he saw himself environed by a multitude of enemies, his subjects, who, for the greatest part, possessed only one or two places, were yet capable of rendering themselves formidable, either by their union, or the situation of their castles. The castle of Pui-set, between Orleans and Estampes, cost many years war to subdue. Lewis the Big had, at length, the good fortune to reduce these little feudatories to obedience; but the French nation was destined to be at variance with the English for several ages. Now began those fatal wars, of which we shall see the end under Charles VII.

During the time that Robert, duke of Normandy, was engaged in war at Palestine, Henry, his younger brother, seized on the kingdom of England, after the death of their father, in 1100. Robert, at his return, prepared to subdue the usurper; but

but was at the same time attacked in Normandy, conquered, taken, and shut in a prison; where he died a victim to his indiscreet zeal for the Crusade. Lewis the Big, governing then under Philip, had urged Henry to the conquest of Normandy; which he ought rather strongly to have opposed, as his father prudently advised. He had reason soon to repent the desire of giving himself so powerful a neighbour.

The fortress of Gisors, situated on the frontier of the two states, was the first occasion of their rupture. Henry, having seized it, though it was sequestered, the king of France sent him a challenge; he replied, He had no occasion to fight for a fort, which was already in his possession. Instead of single combat, it produced a pitched battle; and the English were vanquished. This was the source of continual wars, often interrupted by treaties, but very soon renewed by ambition and hatred.

Lewis was sometimes unfortunate, but always brave: it is said, that in a battle, an Englishman seized the bridle of his horse, crying, 'The king is taken!' Lewis, without being terrified at his danger: 'Knowest thou not,' said he, 'that they can never take the king at chess?' and, at that instant, laid him dead with a stroke of his sword.

The emperor, Henry V. son-in-law to the king of England, entered much the more willingly into his quarrel, because Lewis the Big had suffered him to be excommunicated at Rheims, on account of investitures. The abuse of excommunication could not be carried further, since they had been fulminated from France herself against a foreign prince, on account of disputes between him and the pope. Henry V. raised a powerful army; being resolved to reduce to ashes a city, that had given him such an affront. It was then natural to suppose, that if particular interests made subjects war against their sovereign, the same cause must reunite them against their common enemy. The king, having convoked them, had very soon an army of, at least, two hundred thousand men. This admirable zeal of the nation did not fail to produce good effects. The emperor was discouraged, and returned precipitately across the Rhine. The French army could, with ease, have crushed the king of England; but the vassals would not consent to it, for fear of being, in their turn, subjected to the royal authority.

Lewis, though so pious and zealous for the church, that he endeavoured to establish by the sword, a bishop who had been driven from his see, could not escape eccle-

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ecclesiastical censures. The seditious complaints of some prelates, having provoked him to seize a part of their lands, the bishop of Paris excommunicated him, without ceremony. The pope countenanced the excommunication. St. Bernard, already so celebrated, complains of it as a weakness, which authorized the licence. He suffered himself to be guided by the prejudices of the age, as the greatest men have often done; and out of respect for the pontifical power, he forgot what was due to royalty. In a letter, written to the pope, he treats the king as an impious man, a persecutor, a second Herod; so difficult is it even for the saints to keep their zeal within just bounds.

This prince died in a truly Christian manner, after having caused Lewis, his son, to be anointed as his successor.

The last words which he addressed to him, can never be too often repeated: 'Remember, my son,' said he, 'that royalty is nothing more than a trust, of which you must render a very rigorous account after death.' Lewis the Big, though more virtuous than Henry I. of England, had not, like him, the reputation of a great king; because he was wanting in that deep knowledge of politics, which teaches a sovereign his true interest.

His enemy always knew how to deceive him.

The royal authority began to advance itself under this reign, by making some useful establishments. The principal was that of the commons. They had, before, no other freemen but nobles and ecclesiastics; all the rest were, more or less, slaves. They now permitted them to buy their freedom, and to chuse for themselves mayors and sheriffs; by which they formed themselves into societies, governed by common laws. The towns became little republics, under the title of commons, who were to furnish the king with a certain number of soldiers; each parish to march under the banner of his titular saint. The nobles had no longer any empire over these newly freed men, who were jealous of their liberty. The rights which had been sold them, were firmly guaranteed. By degrees we see the commonalty form themselves into a third order of citizens, which had great authority in the public assemblies of the nation. There still remained many slaves, until the fourteenth century; that general æra of freedom, under Lewis Hutin. Another act of Lewis the Big, (no less useful than the former) was the right of appealing, in many cases, to the royal judgment, from the sentences passed by

by the nobles and their officers: by this means, the lordly jurisdiction lost much of its authority, that was gained by the sovereign power, which being from that time supreme judge, could not fail of being very soon the legislator.

LEWIS VII. *surnamed the YOUNG.*

LEWIS the Young, by his marriage with Eleanora, heiress to the dutchy of Aquitaine, had reunited a considerable tract of land to the crown, which lay between the Loire and the Pyrenees. He had nothing to fear from England, where the death of Henry I. had occasioned civil wars: but the ambition of the pope, and the intrigues of Thibaud, earl of Champagne, did not let him remain long in quiet. He opposed the election of an archbishop of Bourges, made without his consent. Pope Innocent II. though he owed his dignity to the king, supported this election, contrary to the rights of the crown. He anointed him with his own hand, and sent him to take possession of the see; saying, in an insulting manner, 'That the king was a young man, who

‘ wanted to be taught, and should not accustom himself to meddle with the affairs of the church.’ Though it was known, that the kings of the first line generally conferred bishopricks, and that, after elections had been established in the kingdom, the right of confirming them had been vested in the monarch; a right founded on the concessions made to the church by his predecessors, and on reasons of state, by which it was right to exclude, from places of consequence, every man who was suspected by his prince. But a fatal system of independency had shaken the first principles. Lewis remained firm; though it was enough to bring his whole kingdom under an interdiction. The earl of Champagne had a great share in this affair. He was a seditious wicked man, though outwardly devout; a zealous protector of the monks, (whom we may properly call his soldiers) and supported by St. Bernard, who made a public eulogium on him: he neglected no occasion of disturbing the state, and doing injury to the king. Lewis the Young, irritated to the highest degree, fell on Champagne, sacked Vitri, and set the church on fire; wherein upwards of three hundred persons perished. This cruel execution was followed by bitter remorse; and he thought he could no other way expiate

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his crime, than by making a vow to go in person to the Holy Land.

The fruits of the first crusade disappearing daily, a second was demanded. Pope Eugene III. who had been disciple to St. Bernard, abbe of Clervaux, and who still revered him as his master, gave him the office of preaching on the occasion. This pious recluse, was the oracle of France for his sanctity and knowledge, but very susceptible of prejudice; and fitter to govern a convent, than to direct in the state, where he was guided only by zeal: he determined the king to this enterprize, contrary to the advice of Suger, another monk of extraordinary merit; virtuous, though a courtier and a great politician, and one who had been a long time versed in the knowledge of government. The preaching of the saint rekindled the heat of enthusiasm. They offered him the command of the army, which he refused. The fame of his predictions and miracles, leaving no doubt of success; every one was willing to share: even the female part of the creation was desirous of taking arms and the cross; and in several towns there remained only women and children.

Germany (where Bernard went on his mission) was seized with the same frenzy,

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and the emperor Conrad III. imitated the example of the king.

Lewis the Young, after having committed the care of the regency to the abbe Suger, and the earl of Vermandois, put himself at the head of two hundred thousand men; Conrad having, on his part, more than a hundred thousand. There wanted not more to conquer all Asia. The treachery of the Greeks; who, under a pretence of serving the crusades, did them real injury; the little knowledge of the united princes, the bad discipline of the troops, want of necessary precautions, and many other errors; among which we may reckon the independence of their subjects; all concurred to the destruction of the crusades. Instead of the conquests, which they looked on as certain, they had only the satisfaction of devoutly visiting the holy places.

On his return to France, the king found the monarchy flourishing, under the wise government of the abbe Suger. They had reason to regret the loss of this minister. It was scarcely possible to reward him equal to his desert: and in giving him the title of father of his country, they bestowed on him the only recompence that was worthy of his zeal. All the kingdom rung with complaints against Bernard; who justified himself,

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himself, as may be supposed, by laying the miscarriage of the crusade, on the crimes of those who composed it. These two celebrated monks, present us with a striking contrast. They had both great genius; but the one governed the state, according to the rules of true policy; while the other only considered every thing as a devotee. He was born for spiritual affairs, and went out of his sphere, when he mixed with the civil government of the people. Providence designs that human wisdom shall direct human enterprises.

The queen, Eleanora, having followed her husband into Palestine, a mutual antipathy, increased by the gallantries of that princess, made them equally desire a separation. Lewis looked on himself as dishonoured by Eleanora; and she complained, that she had a monk, instead of a king, for a husband. Suger, foreseeing the consequences of this divorce, which would deprive the crown of all Aquitaine, was endeavouring to suspend this dangerous design of his master, when death snatched him off, unfortunately for the state. Lewis had recourse to the common pretence of consanguinity. He was at no loss for sycophants to humour him in his pretended scruple, concerning his marriage. He consulted

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consulted the bishops, and by their advice divorced the queen. She had two daughters, to whom, he hoped, the dutchy of Aquitaine would descend; but Eleanora was very soon married to the duke of Normandy; by which means she deprived them of the succession.

Henry (that was the name of the duke) receiving as a dowry the dutchy of Aquitaine, became, from that time, a formidable neighbour to the king of France. He, in a very short time, grew more so, by being declared successor to the king of England. This crown, united to some of the finest provinces of France, formed a power, which announced strange misfortunes to the descendants of Lewis the Young. The two kings were very soon at variance; the consequences of which were very considerable. A famous stickler for ecclesiastical privileges, called Thomas Becket, revered under the name of saint Thomas of Canterbury, whom the new king of England had raised, first to the dignity of chancellor, and afterwards to that of archbishop, was the cause of greater uneasiness to him than the king of France, who was too weak to subdue him. Two priests had been convicted of assassination; they were both thought to have deserved death; but the
archbishop

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archbishop only inflicted a slight punishment on them. The king was for referring the affair to the magistrates: to this the archbishop would by no means be brought to consent. Such was the principal cause of a quarrel, which put this kingdom in a blaze, which exposed Henry II. to the loss of his crown, and which really lost him his authority and glory.

Becket, condemned by his own brotherhood in England, found an asylum in France with Louis the young; whose interest it was to foment these broils, and whose piety inclined him to favour a man already looked on as a martyr. Henry being come to France on other occasions, he was entreated to be reconciled to the archbishop of Canterbury. The prelate threw himself at his feet, assuring him he would submit himself to his will in every thing that was consistent with the honour of God. After some clamour on what was meant by this restriction: 'That which he means 'to yield to me,' said the monarch, 'is 'no more than the holiest of his preachers 'has granted to the lowest of my subjects.' He then began to insist on the laws of England, which the archbishop had rejected as incompatible with the privileges of the church. Every one approved of this demand; but the prelate was inflexible, the

the pope being engaged in this negotiation. Henry, who feared his anathemas, consented to the re-establishment of Becket, as far as was consistent with the royal authority. They were (in appearance) reconciled. The archbishop returned to England: he denounced fresh excommunications; and irritated more than ever a prince who was terrible in his resentments. 'Is it possible,' cried Henry the II^d, one day in the hearing of his courtiers, 'that none of my subjects will revenge me on an ungrateful and rebellious priest, who disturbs the quiet of my kingdom.' These words had too much the desired effect: when a prince seems to wish a crime committed, there are never wanting those who are eager to execute. The prelate was very soon after assassinated in his church. The humiliating penitence of the king, the rebellion of his children, and with them a great part of the nation, and the step which he took to acknowledge himself subject to the pope; all shew, how much misfortunes can lower the greatest of men.

These violent disputes on the pontifical authority and the ecclesiastical privileges, owed their origin to false decrees; which had been forged for some time past, and looked on for several ages as the canons of the primitive church. We always see the
greatest

greatest evils human nature is liable to, take their rise from error rather than passion. Nothing is more active; it deceives under an appearance of a desire to seek after truth.

Lewis the Young supported the sons of Henry against their father; but the English monarch, resuming all the vigour of his soul, shewed no less courage and prudence in this war, than he had done in those in which he had formerly been engaged. A fresh treaty of peace was formed between them. Lewis made a pilgrimage to the tomb of St. Thomas of Canterbury, who was already canonized: he died soon after, with the reputation of a pious king, but bad politician. His vassals were attached to him; not through esteem to his person, or dread of his power, but because they feared the ambition of the king of England.

We may remark under this reign a law, which we should have thought could only have been necessary in the most barbarous ages; which was forbidding duelling for a debt of five-pence; one of six-pence being then a sufficient cause for a duel. In the midst of this barbarity started up in Provence our first poets, under the name of Trouverres, or Troubadours. The courts
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were filled with them. The ladies loved them; it had that novelty which is so charming. These first sparks of the genius of the nation scarcely penetrated the thick darkness with which it was environed. A number of schools, especially those established in the monasteries, were of more essential service. The monks employed themselves in copying books; without which we had, perhaps, lost all the treasures of antiquity. These schools were succeeded by colleges, and great numbers flocked from all parts of Europe to Paris, to study the sciences. At this time, perhaps, a university was first formed; though the name was not known till the time of St. Louis. The number of students, from the beginning, was so great, as to constitute a very considerable body; but what was then called science, consisted merely of metaphysical subtilties; which were more likely to create disputes, than to extend knowledge. Is it then, according to the order of things, that the human mind must exercise itself in folly, before it can arrive at true learning? and that no way can be found to the study of nature, but through the obscure subtilties of the schools?

PHILIP II. *sirnamed the August.*

PHILIP, the son of Lewis the Young, by his third wife, Adelaide, of Champagne, mounted the throne at the age of twenty. He was originally stiled the Gift of God; and, by his actions, he justly merited the additions of Conqueror and August. The first act of his reign, worthy of commemoration, was a rigorous one, contrary, according to Mr. le President Henault, to the law of nature, and, consequently, to religion; but, according to P. Daniel, equally advantageous to Christianity and the state. The greatest part of the wealth of the kingdom lay in the hands of the Jews; who became possessed of it, partly by commerce and industry, and partly by usury. These people were accused of impiety for several acts of which they made no scruple, and many crimes were imputed to them, of which there was little probability of their being guilty; among others, that of sacrificing Christian children, on the anniversary of the day on which the Lord's supper was instituted; a crime with which the Christians themselves were unjustly reproached in the first ages of the church.

Philip,

Philip, from his infancy, had been struck with the horror of such charges; which were greatly exaggerated, through the universal hatred which was borne against the Jews; and, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the nobles and bishops, who are said to have been gained over by the great offers and rich presents of the Jews, he banished them the kingdom, confiscated their estates, and gave a free discharge to his subjects, from all debts they had contracted with this people. Some suffered themselves to be baptized, to avoid persecution; but the greater part chose rather to leave the country, and exercise the talents which had enriched them elsewhere. The king, soon afterwards, recalled them, because he had occasion for their money; and he thought of making them useful members of the state, by restraining their avarice within reasonable bounds. Works of a more peaceful kind employed his attention, after this storm had blown over; which was the paving and embellishing the capital of the kingdom: the ancient name of which was Lutece, on account of its being little else than a sink of dirt and clay.

The earl of Flanders, in quality of godfather to Philip the August, had the principal authority at court; for the title of godfather,

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godfather, in those days, formed the strictest alliances. The queen-mother, jealous of his increasing power, retired in discontent, and implored the protection of the king of England. This little division, however, produced nothing of consequence; but Philip, himself, shortly after, thought it necessary to take up arms against the same nobleman, whose niece he had married, and obliged him to give up Vermandois, Amiens, and other dominions; which, by the death of the countess of Flanders, devolved again to the crown. A resolution to support his authority, and force sufficient for the purpose, were already evident from the conduct and situation of this young prince.

The deplorable state of affairs in the east drew the attention of all Europe. It appeared (but too plainly) that the conduct of the crusades, which established themselves in Palestine, by no means corresponded with the great motives of religion, which were thought to have carried them thither. The celebrated Saladin, who was then sovereign of Egypt, a man equally eminent for wisdom and valour, took advantage of their dissensions, and found it easy to destroy them.

He had retaken Jerusalem, where Lusinian had the title of king, with very little

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little of the power. This sad news reanimated the ardour of the crusades. The kings of France and England (for a moment) forgot their quarrels to take up the cross. They agreed to oblige every one, who did not join in the expedition, as well clergy as laity, to pay the tenth part of their estates, to defray the expence of it. The church ought to have set the example; but several of its members remonstrated against this tax. The king, however, would be obeyed, though hitherto a general subsidy was without example.

It is recorded on this occasion, ‘ That Philip, being obliged to raise troops on a pressing emergency, demanded a subsidy from the clergy of Reims. The members of this church entreated, that he would be satisfied with their prayers; which, they said, would certainly procure him success. Soon after, some lands belonging to this church were laid waste by some noblemen: the clergy complained of this outrage to the king, who promised to desire his nobles not to disturb the repose of the church: he accordingly desired it; but in such a manner, as gave them encouragement to commit still greater violence. Justice from the sovereign was again implored, “ Of what,” says he, “ do you complain?

“ I have

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“ I have protected you by my prayers,
“ as you have served me by yours.” Struck
‘ with this reply, the deputies promised
‘ more zeal, and the king, having thus
‘ taught them their duty, made satisfac-
‘ tion for the damage they had sustained.’
Could there be a doubt, but that the inter-
est of the church is united to the service
of the state ?

Some fresh bickerings between Philip
the August and Henry the second, king
of England, suspended the execution of
the crusade. Henry, then an old man,
was enamoured of a sister of Philip’s,
who was engaged to his son Richard; for
which reason he sought pretences for de-
laying the intended marriage from time to
time, and refused to suffer this young prince
to share in his crown, though his elder
brother had died with the title of king.
The quarrel grew warm, and war ensued.
A legate excommunicated Richard, as
author of all the troubles which prevented
the prosecution of the holy war. Another
legate declared to Philip, that if he did
not make a speedy peace with England, he
would put all France under an interdiction.
The king shewed no more moderation in
his answer, than the legate in his threat:
‘ I laugh at your interdiction,’ replied he,
‘ I neither fear nor regard it, knowing it
‘ to

‘ to be unjust. It belongs not to Rome
 ‘ to act in this, or any other manner
 ‘ against my kingdom, when I think pro-
 ‘ per to bring rebellious vassals to reason.
 ‘ It is plainly to be seen by your conduct,
 ‘ that you have taken a fancy to the gold
 ‘ of England.’ Richard was present; he
 rushed upon the legate, sword in hand;
 those who were present interposed, and
 prevented the stroke. Richard then threw
 himself at the feet of Philip, and did ho-
 mage for all the country which his family
 possessed in France, declaring, that he held
 them from him as his lord, and from the
 king of England as his father. This war
 was brisk, but of short duration. The
 unhappy Henry, too weak to support him-
 self against a hero like Philip, submitted
 to the law of the victor, and did not long
 survive his disgrace. His wife, Eleanora,
 had greatly contributed to make him
 wretched. His two sons had betrayed
 him, looking on him as an unjust father.
 Besides the kingdom of England, (to
 which he had added Ireland) he possessed
 Guienne, Poitou, Xaintonge, Auvergne,
 Limousin, Perigord, Angoumois, Anjou,
 Maine, Touraine, and Normandy; to
 which he had joined Brittany, by a mar-
 riage of one of his sons with the princess
 of that dutchy. Notwithstanding these

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possessions, his life was embittered by misfortune, and he was a striking instance, how far the most splendid situation may be sometimes removed from happiness.

The new king Richard, and the king of France, swore an everlasting friendship, and took measures for the crusade in concert. The letters patent on this occasion ran thus: 'Such are the conditions to which we are bound, I Philip, king of France, to Richard, king of England, my friend and faithful vassal; I Richard, king of England, towards Philip, king of France, my lord and my friend.' This amity could not subsist long between two young monarchs, active, ambitious, valiant, jealous of each other's power, and surrounded by a thousand subjects for contest. There was still more to be feared from the odd fiery temper of the Englishman, than from the haughty vivacity of the Frenchman: often were they divided, and often seemingly reunited; they both signalized themselves at the siege of Acre, a place of importance, which they took from the Infidels. This was the whole fruit of this grand expedition: the emperor Frederick Barbarossa, famous for his courage and his quarrels with Rome, had perished in passing the Cidnus, and his army, composed

I of

of fifty thousand men, were, through sickness, almost reduced to nothing. Philip, mean while, was seized with a disorder which obliged him to return to France. Richard remained alone in Palestine, and performed prodigies of valour to his own disadvantage: Jerusalem, the principal object of this war, was not to be taken, and all the European forces only travelled to Asia to find a grave.

One thing worthy of remark, and which characterises the manners of the times, was, that the knights of the cross (we shall speak more fully with regard to the order of knighthood under the reign of Lewis VII.) were not less gallant than they were devout. The baron of Crowci, when mortally wounded at the siege of Acre, remembered the lady Fayel in his dying moments, for whom, it is said, he felt a flame as pure as it was lively and constant: he commanded his squire to take out his heart after his decease, and bear it to this lady: the jealous husband met the squire, whom he ordered to be searched, and seized the present. This enraged nobleman had it made into a ragout, and served up at table to his wife; she eat with appetite, after which her husband revealed the cruel secret. The unhappy lady shrieked with horror, swore she

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he would never more take sustenance, and died some days afterwards, of abstinence and grief.

Philip, on his return to his kingdom, took advantage of the absence of Richard, to make himself master of some part of Normandy: this invasion was a breach of ancient treaties, in which the ties of honour seemed concerned; but ambition, joined to the aggravation from violent quarrels, is seldom delicate in the means of satisfaction.

Richard, in his return from the Holy Land, was made prisoner in Germany: after five months imprisonment, he submitted to become a vassal to the emperor, and recovered his liberty at the price of his glory. His brother John was tempted to invade the kingdom. The king of France wrote Richard a letter upon the occasion, in which are these words: 'Take care of yourself; the devil is unchained.' The king of England finished his days in disgrace and misfortune. Philip gained several advantages over him; but avarice was the occasion of his death. Richard was desirous of possessing a treasure which was said to be hidden in the castle of Charles near Limoges; on the lord's refusal to whom it belonged, he besieged it; he received a shaft from a crois-bow, of the

I 2 stroke

stroke of which he died. His courage had given him the surname of Lionheart. His vices have degraded his name in history. It is recorded, that a parish priest dared publickly to tell him, that he had three daughters, viz. Pride, Avarice, and Impurity. 'Very well,' replied Richard, 'who was as little reserved in his words as his actions, ' and I will tell you how I will ' dispose of them; I will give Pride to the ' knights templars, Avarice to the monks ' of Citeaux, and Impurity to the prelates ' of my kingdom.' John, surnamed Sans Terre, succeeded to the crown of England, which he soon contrived to lose.

There is, in almost all ages, a circle of odd circumstances, which periodical-ly return. Philip had married a second wife, Infelburg, or Isenburg, a sister of the king of Denmark, and resolved to divorce her the day following. This resolution was, by the people, seriously attributed to the power of forcery. Pretences for divorce were, in those days, never wanting: when the king was desirous of getting rid of his wife, he found out some affinity of blood between them, which was the pretext in this case. Two bishops delegated by the pope, Celestin III. and a parliament convoked for that purpose, acknowledged the consanguinity, and declared the marriage null

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null and void. Innocent III. more severe and firm than Celestin, began his pontificate, by commanding the king to recal Inselsburg, and send back Agnes of Meranie, whom he had married since his divorce. This absolute order was followed by an interdiction cast on the whole kingdom; of consequence, there were no more masses, no more church-service, no sacraments administered, except in cases of urgent necessity; no burial-service, nor any one public office of religion performed. How strangely unjust, to punish a whole nation for one man's fault! Had Philip been possessed of less authority and resolution, he must have sunk under the pope's indignation; but he punished the ecclesiastics for the deference they shewed to the orders of Rome, by seizing their temporalities; and the murmuring seditious laymen, by imposing on them large taxes. Nevertheless, prudence made him demand of the pope, a new examination of his cause; but foreseeing that the legates would give it against him, and willing to spare himself the shame of submitting to their judgment, he sent them word that he should recal Inselsburg; and she accordingly recovered the title of queen, but she was only suffered to enjoy it in a castle, to which she was banished.

The authority of Philip very soon shone forth in a most striking manner: Arthur duke of Brittany had just pretensions to the crown of England: John Sans Terre, his uncle, had been the choice of the nation. War was commenced by the friends of Arthur; after some hostilities, John found himself master of the person of a competitor, from whom he had the more to fear as he was supported by the king of France. Arthur was sent to Rouen, where he died by unfair means, and undoubtedly not without the private orders of his uncle. His mother demanded justice of the king of France, as lord protector of the deceased prince, and lord of him who had caused his assassination. Philip cited his vassal to the court of peers: the name of peer was known a long time before the establishment of peerdom. It was the privilege of the great to be judged by their peers, as their equals in dignity: afterwards, when they became perpetual masters of the fiefs, the peerage, which was before personal, became real, and then went together with the lands. The peers of the king were the great lords, who immediately held under him. Those were to be judged by their equals, the king only by ecclesiastics. There is reason to believe, the number of peers in France were

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were then fixed to a dozen. A vassal cited to the court of the king was bound to appear under pain of a fine or confiscation. The king of England did not appear, and the peers declared him attainted, and guilty of parricide and felony, and all his lands situated in the kingdom of France, were confiscated to the crown.

This judgment was conformable to the feudal laws, which rendered vassals accountable to their lords, assisted by his peers. Philip delayed not to put this sentence in execution; he seized, with surprizing alacrity, all the country of Normandy; which has been ever since reunited to the crown of France. Touraine, Anjou, Maine, &c. were forced to submit, and Guienne was all that remained to king John, who was truly deserving of this fatal catastrophe, for his indolence and carelessness: 'Let him do what he can,' says he, 'I shall retake more in a day than he can take in a year.' Innocent III. who treated kings in the same manner as a sovereign does his vassals, endeavoured several times by menaces to make Philip quit the field; but he always firmly replied, 'That he should receive no orders from the pope, and that the dissensions of kings were not his business.' He consented, notwithstanding, to a truce of two years,
I 4 from

from a conviction that a pope such as Innocent III. was to be feared by the first monarch on earth. 'Innocent,' said he, 'does not take upon him to judge of siefs, but of sin;' under pretence that the church has a right of determining what may come under that denomination. Now it is certain, in all contests, one of the parties must be guilty of some injustice. 'According to this principle,' says the celebrated Fleury, 'the pope was judge of every quarrel betwixt sovereigns; that is to say, he was, properly speaking, the sole monarch of the world.' *Disc. on the Ecclesiastical History.*

During this war, a fourth crusade again depopulated France, of which Foulques the priest of Nevilli was the mover. He seized the occasion of a tournament, to which all the nobility were invited; he there mounted a scaffold, on which he preached, and made such an impression on his auditors, that a crowd of noblemen desired to receive the cross from his hand. A passion for adventure, and hope of founding a kingdom, effaced the remembrance of former misfortunes. This expedition was fatal, not to the Mahometans, but to the Greeks: the taking of Constantinople, the horrid cruelties committed by the crusades, the new empire
which

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which Baldwin earl of Flanders established on the ruins of that christian city, could not be looked on as any triumph for religion. The Latin empire in Constantinople did not last more than fifty-eight years.

A more extraordinary crusade, employed against the Christians, drenched in blood the southern provinces of the kingdom, which were overspread with the heresy of the Albigenes. They now began to dispute on religion: subtil arguments were introduced in the schools: the abuses which daily increased in the church, gave free scope and licence to men's minds. A crowd of innovators, called sometimes Manichees, sometimes Vaudois, but most commonly Albigenes, embraced a new doctrine, the same which a little time after was renewed by the protestants. These people reproached the church with their errors in regard to the eucharist, the spiritual power and different objects of worship, and with the dissolute and infamous practices, of which too many were probably guilty. Innocent III. first sent missionaries to convert them, and afterwards sent legates, to whom he gave power to force the nobles by the censures of the church, to confiscate their estates, to banish or punish them with death. This was the origin of

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the inquisition, which became in a short time so terrible. Raimond, the sixth earl of Toulouse, cousin-german to Philip, was looked on as a protector of these heretics. Whether he had secretly adopted their opinions, or whether he had tolerated them only through policy, as there is some reason to imagine; however it was, a legate excommunicated him, and was soon after assassinated. The earl was accused of this murder. The pope, without hearing him, seized his estate for the next heir, and invited all the faithful to take up arms, promising the same indulgencies and the same privileges which were allowed the crusades when engaged against the Saracens. This was exciting one fanaticism in order to stifle another. Raimond was frightened into submission and penitence, and humbly received the strokes of the rod: they again obliged him to bind himself by the cross against his subjects. The famous earl of Montfort, devoured by ambition, under an exterior shew of piety, put himself at the head of the crusade. It would be needless to enter into a detail of the combats and barbarities which this dispute gave birth to; it will be sufficient to mention some remarkable actions. The crusades besieged Beziers: just on the point of giving the assault, and at a loss how

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how to distinguish the catholics from the heretics, it is said, they demanded of the pope's legate, the abbe of the Citeaux, what part they should take; 'Kill all,' says he; 'God only knows who are his own.' Thirty thousand inhabitants, others say sixty thousand, fell by the edge of the sword. Another instance of their cruelty was shewn on the following occasion: Montfort having condemned two of the Albigenses to the fire, the youngest declared that he renounced his heresy; upon which intercession was made by several people for his pardon: the refusal of the general was less astonishing than the reason which he gave for it: 'if this man be sincerely converted,' says he, 'the fire will be a means of expiating his crimes; if he is not so, he will suffer the punishment due to his imposture.' After the taking of Laveur, the cruel Montfort ordered the lady of that city to be cast alive into a well; her brother he caused to be hanged; fourscore gentlemen were strangled in cold blood; four hundred heretics delivered to the flames, while the clergy sung a hymn of the holy Spirit. The earl of Toulouse, though penitent, though absolved by the court of Rome, was, nevertheless, deprived of his estate. Innocent had appeared willing to suspend the course of his ju-

stice; but, on the remonstrances of the bishops, he consented to the continuation of the war. The king, who, at the same time, received complaints from the crusades, approved the vow which his sons had made, of exposing their persons in the holy war.

These scenes of horror furnish us with matter for the most melancholy reflections. What was then become of mildness and Christian charity? How came the church, the enemy of bloodshed, to have such sanguinary ministers? and, How could the Christians become persecutors, after having signalized their patience beneath the sword of persecution? We can only attribute this ferocity of manners to an utter ignorance of their duty: no one who understands what religion is, can make it a motive for rebellion and massacres; and they must be destitute of humanity, who do not feel that such violences are an outrage to Nature.

The war of the Albigenes, employing the chief force of the kingdom, prolonged the truce with the king of England; but was no advantage to that unfortunate prince. The pope having named an archbishop of Canterbury, whom John was not willing to receive, his refusal drew an interdiction on the whole kingdom.

This

This was only a forerunner of the enterprises of Innocent III.; he chose, that every thing should comply with his orders, and assumed to himself a right of disposing all things. Perceiving the English bishops and barons irritated against their monarch, he employed his thoughts in contriving how to manage them. He declared the throne of England vacant, offering it to Philip the August, and publishing a crusade against the deposed king. Had Philip been in the situation of this prince, he would have maintained his dignity; but ambition made him forget that the pope had no right over crowns; he accepted this, though so unjustly offered, and equipped a prodigious fleet, to enable him to take possession of it.

John Sans Terre, as indolent as unfortunate, after having implored the aid of the king of Morocco, to whom he promised not only to pay homage, but to embrace Mahometanism, and after having received a refusal from that barbarian, determined within himself to give his kingdom to the pope, and took an oath of fidelity to him, between the hands of the legate whom Innocent had charged with the execution against him. As soon as that was done, the artful legate returned through France, and ordered the king to renounce England, giving

giving him to understand it belonged to the Holy See. Philip, played on in this unworthy manner, continued his preparations with more ardour: his fleet perished through the negligence of the troops to whose care it was committed; but he gained a glorious victory at Bouviers, between Lille and Tournay, over the emperor Otho IV. and the earl of Flanders, leagued with the king of England. He had only fifty thousand men against near two hundred thousand. His enemies, assured of conquest, had already divided betwixt themselves the several parts of the kingdom. The bishop of Beauvais signalized himself in this day's victory: he beat the English general with an iron club, with which he used to knock down his enemies, being scrupulous of shedding human blood. Philip exposed himself to the greatest dangers; but the earl of Flanders was taken prisoner, and adorned the triumph of the victor.

Never was king more near his ruin than John. Instead of seeking a support in the hearts of his subjects, he provoked them to rebellion, by a conduct the most detestable. They were desirous that he should confirm to them the privileges of the nation, contained in a charter of Henry I. This he refused, and they took up arms
and

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and forced him to sign the grand charter, which is the foundation of English liberty. No sooner had he made an oath of conformity to the British privileges, than he violated it; when, in defiance of the pope, the English, having declared the kingdom forfeited, yielded to the eldest son of Lewis, who had married Blanche of Castile, granddaughter of a king of England. In vain Innocent III. menaced the king and his son with excommunication, if they engaged to become fiefs of the kingdom of England: they replied, 'That a sovereign could not dispose of his dominions (if he took on himself the government of a kingdom which was become a fief of the church) without the consent of his barons.' This was a truth of such consequence to the nobles, that they declared they would maintain it at the expence of their lives.

Notwithstanding, Philip, quite resolute not to abandon his son, seemed to respect the pope's orders, and promised not to meddle in this affair, but to leave Lewis the care of examining and supporting his own rights: 'Sir,' said this young prince to him, in presence of the legate, 'I am your vassal for the fiefs I hold of you in France; but for the kingdom of Eng-

8 land,

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‘land, it belongs not to you to decide,
 ‘and if you do it, I will complain of the
 ‘injury before my peers.’ He then immediately embarked in this cause, in which the king of France, who affected to oppose him, acted in concert. The pope, suspecting their artifice, excommunicated them both. He soon learned, that Lewis was going to be proclaimed in London: transported with rage at this news, he mounted the chair; ‘Sword, sword,’ says he, ‘leave thy scabbard, and sharpen thyself for slaughter.’ It is thus that the scripture phrases are too often abused to the purpose of caprice and passion. He redoubled his anathemas and imprecations. In the midst of these transports, a fever seized him, and he died while he was meditating new triumphs. According to the report of Matthew Paris, an author who is sometimes extravagant in what he says, this pontiff was the most ambitious, and the most superb of men; insatiable of money, and capable of every crime to procure it. We may judge of his knowledge, or rather of that of the age he lived in, by that species of prediction which he made after the ridiculous crusade of the children. More than fifty thousand children were made crusades, under the direction of a
 great

great number of priests. It is easy to guess with what success Innocent III. spoke to this effect on that occasion: 'We may hope,' says he, 'that the power of Mahomet will be very soon at an end; since this is the beast of the apocalypse, the number of which is 666, and there is already near 600 passed.' *Fleury's Ecclesiastical History.*

Almost all England was conquered. Lewis besieged Dover: the death of king John produced a revolution: the English offended by the insolent behaviour of the French, and perhaps reproaching themselves for having betrayed the blood of their kings, crowned Henry III. the son of John Sans Terre. Lewis was forced to surrender his conquests. The dread of falling under the censures of Rome, prevented Philip from assisting him, and deprived his house of a crown which he might otherwise have ensured to it.

A legate imposed penance on every one who had born any share in this expedition: the laity bought off theirs, and the ecclesiastics were obliged to go to Rome; and on their return, to be whipped in procession in the cathedral of Paris. If the court of Rome triumphed thus in the reign of Philip the August, what would it have

have done, had France been governed by a weak prince?

The preceding year, the fourth council of worship, presided over by Innocent III. had decided, that the secular power should be held under pain of excommunication of engaging by oath, to exterminate, as far as they were able, all declared heretics; ordering the bishops to anathematize all those who would not obey, and to inform them, that the pope declared that their vassals should be free from their oath of fidelity, and he gave their lands to the first catholic who would take them. The old count of Toulouse, notwithstanding his outward submission, was the victim of this sentence. They gave his lands to the count of Montfort, who perished at the siege of Toulouse, by a blow from a stone, justly abhorred as the hero of fanaticism. His son was not able to resist young Raimond, who offered his estate to Philip; but whether it was equity, or whether it was policy, the king refused to rob the legitimate heir, and died in a short time afterwards. He was the first of our kings who had kept an army in peaceable times; to make himself less dependent on his vassals, he kept troops in constant pay, whom he disposed of according to his own will. Taxes became more necessary; but in
other

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other things he managed his resources with œconomy, 'well knowing,' says Mezeray, 'that a king who has great designs, ought not to consume his subjects' substance in vain glorious and unnecessary expences.'

The profit of an hospital for invalids, such as Lewis XIV. erected, demanded more happy times. It was a design beyond the power of Philip to execute. Under his reign the university of Paris was very flourishing: in a public council they condemned to the flames the metaphysics of Aristotle, which they have since revered with a kind of superstition. The contradictory judgments on this ancient philosopher, ought to be sufficient to teach men to avoid all sorts of prejudices.

It is not astonishing, that the doctors in these times should have erred so far, as even to renounce the doctrines of the church. Superstitious abuse naturally leads to heresy. Christianity was so obscured, as scarcely to discover a trace of what it was. In those days, they celebrated in the church of Paris, the feast of fools or innocents; a scandalous farce, in which the clergy, disguised in masks, danced, played, debauched themselves, and sung obscene songs during the celebration of the holy mysteries. The feast of asses crowned every
other

other extravagance: a young girl mounted on an ass, passed along with a pretty child in her arms, advanced to the sanctuary, and placed herself there: mass began, and the choir terminated each prayer with this burden, Hinham, hinham, hinham. It is of use to us sometimes to reflect on the various deliriums to which the human mind is subject. All people have their follies in a greater or less degree. In seeing those of our ancestors, which long custom had in some degree consecrated, we feel the weakness of our own reason, and the necessity of supporting it by reflection and study. They who endeavour to decry science, (which is sometimes perverted, as are the most useful things) can they lose sight of the good which it has produced, and the evils which it has prevented?

LEWIS VIII.

LEWIS VIII. was thirty-six years old when he succeeded his father; he had signalized himself against the English and the Albigenes. Indeed they had cause to form the highest expectations from his valour;

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valour; but he remained too short a time on the throne to be able to do great things. The king of England, Henry III. in vain endeavoured to recover that which king John had shamefully lost in France. The confiscation made under Philip the August was republished: Lewis supported it by arms: his rival, beat on all sides, had recourse to the pope, and offered a large sum of money at the same time, which made more impression than the menaces of Rome: a truce was concluded for four years. Had he been politic, he would not have granted this breathing-time to his enemy, when he could have so easily vanquished him. This mistake led him to a second.

Philip the August, according to a contemporary author, had predicted the destiny of his successor: 'The people of the church,' says he, 'will engage my son in a crusade against the Albigenes; he will ruin his health in this expedition; he will die there, and the kingdom will be left in the hands of a woman and a child.' In effect, the young Montfort yielded to the king all his pretensions to the dominions of the count of Toulouse. A legate from Henry III. confirmed this act, and excommunicated the son and heir of the famous Raimond, as a condemned heretic, though the pope had not long since
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acknowledged him for a catholic. In fine, Lewis VIII. put himself at the head of a new crusade to rob the innocent. If the popes arrogated to themselves the sovereign power of disposing of crowns, it must be confessed, their ambition was but too often authorised by that of the princes who received them at their hands. The oppressed declaimed against this chimerical right; the usurper supposed it legitimate: the same man, as his interest guided him, was either for or against; for interest, too often, will direct the judgments of men.

The inhabitants of Avignon refused a passage to the crusades, under pretence that Avignon was a fief of the empire. The crusades besieged it, and wrote to the emperor in these terms: ‘ God is our witness, that we have undertaken this siege in quality of pilgrims for the love of his holy name, and for the maintenance of the faith, without prejudice in any degree to the empire.’ It was for the support of the faith, that they would have usurped the dominions of a prince who was himself a professor of that faith. The king was stopped for more than three months before this city: at length he took it, and penetrated into Languedoc: nothing resisted him till he arrived at the environs of Toulouse. The season of the year not

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now permitting him to carry on a siege, he died on his return to Paris, poisoned, as some historians say, by the count Champagne, who was enamoured of his queen, Blanche of Castile. In his will he ordered, that his fifth son, and all that followed, should dedicate themselves to the service of the church: a whimsical disposition, of which the only motive seems to be, that the monarchy should not be dismembered by too great a number of assignments; which shews how very imperfect our laws were then. He bequeathed considerable sums of money for the building two thousand lazaretto: a proof how much the leprosy had spread since the crusades had brought it from the east. Immense charities were afterwards bestowed for the enriching of these hospitals, as they had been on the monasteries before them, which became, in after times, a temptation to spoilers, who were not at a loss for reasons to support injustice, accusing the lepers or *lazarites*, as they were called, of crimes of the most heinous nature. Philip the Long caused many of them to be burned, and all their effects to be forfeited.

Knighthood was already in a flourishing state. Lewis VIII. was created a knight by his father. This military and political establishment has been compared by our ancestors

cestors to the priesthood and prelacy. The order of knighthood was not to be attained till after long desert. A young candidate was, at seven years old, placed in the house of some illustrious knight, to serve in quality of page, or valet to the young ladies; he was generally raised by the fair sex: he had lessons given him which were equally serious, on his duty to his God, and his attachment to ladies. At fourteen, the young man left the station of a page, and rose to the rank of a squire: a squire had different employments, the chief of which was, to dress and undress his master, to carry his armour, and, in general, he was not admitted to the honour of knighthood till twenty-one, at the earliest. The young and the old were present at this ceremony, which was performed in a church: several acts of devotion preceded the act that conferred the honour, which consisted in a little blow, or three strokes with the flat of a sword. The person who performed the office, crying out at the same time, 'In the name of God, our lady, and my lord St. Dennis, I create thee a knight.' This was the most customary form. These knights had great privileges; but their wives had no other title than Madam. Their passion for adventure is well known: glory and pleasure excited their emulation without

without ceasing. History leaves us without a doubt of their being as often licentious in their love, as they were terrible in their arms.

LEWIS IX. *stiled* ST. LEWIS.

A Young king, no more than twelve years old, a stranger regent of the kingdom, the trouble which the sudden death of Lewis VIII. had spread over the nation, all seemed to favour the spirit of rebellion, and inspired the nobility with hopes of rendering themselves as independent as their ancestors had been. The state supported itself in the midst of the greatest storms, by the wisdom and firmness of Blanche of Castile, the worthy mother of Lewis IX. She was an accomplished princess, formed to please and to command. Thibaut, count of Champagne, was desperately in love with her, and breathed his passion in poetical sonnets, full of amorous expressions. The queen, instead of enjoining him silence, as without doubt she should have done, only diverted herself with his tenderness, which exposed her to the injurious suspicions of the courtiers ;

tiers; but the virtue of Blanche was a shield which defended her against the most specious reproach. She used often to address the young king in words to this effect: 'Notwithstanding the tenderness which I feel for you, my dear son, I had rather see you dead than see your mind sullied with guilt.' The counts of Champagne, Britanny, and March, who were the three first lords of the state, bound themselves by oath, to receive no order but from the king, nor from him till he was of a proper age. The regency quelled this rebellion, and the rebels were obliged to submit. New factions arose, and were dissipated as easily. Blanche united two essential qualities, which raised her above all difficulties; a sweetness of manners, which won all hearts, and a firmness, which brought down the spirit of party.

Notwithstanding, Languedoc still laboured under the fury of fanaticism. The Albigeneses, driven to the last extremity, spared not the Catholics, who every day renewed their cruelties against them: on either side, there was nothing but barbarities and frightful reprisals. The solicitations of the pope had engaged the regent to assist the crusade. It would have been difficult to have avoided making such assistance a religious duty, in the midst of prejudiced

prejudiced princes. At length Raimond, the young count of Toulouse, entered into a treaty at Paris, by which he obliged himself to exterminate the heretics, and to engage in a crusade for Palestine; he renounced a part of his dominions in favour of the king and the pope; he submitted to make an honourable expiation for his faults; bare-foot, and in his shirt he received the absolution, which had always been refused him while he persisted in keeping the heritage of his ancestors. What tends most to justify the king and his mother, is, says the Abbe Velley, that it was not to be expected that a woman and a child should know more than the popes, the bishops, and even councils, who then considered as fair booty whatever was taken from heretics, or those who were accused of favouring them. To this judicious notion we must add, that such kind of accusations being very easy, and consequently very common, no body, according to the received principles, could enjoy their property in quiet: nothing, however, can be more inconsistent with the true spirit of religion, than the disturbing the repose of society.

The tribunal of the inquisition being established in these times by a council of Toulouse, could not fail of producing this

effect. The bishops were ordered to make the strictest search after heretics, and the civil officers to take them into custody where found. At the same time, the laity were forbidden to have the holy scriptures in their houses, and only permitted to read the psalter and breviary, on condition they should do it in Latin; that is to say, in a language which they did not understand; and a provision was granted to all who would enter into any league against the enemies of the faith. Fires soon blazed in all parts, and a hundred and eighty-three heretics were sacrificed to the flames in Champagne in the year 1239, before eighteen bishops; 'a burnt offering acceptable to the Deity,' says a cotemporary monk. The king, on his side, enacted laws against them no less severe, and the heresy of the Albigeneses seemed to be quenched in the blood of its professors.

Blanche shewed no less zeal for the rights of the crown than for the doctrine of the church. During this period, the count of Brittany, always factious, having engaged the king of England in his interest, to whom he at the same time did homage, was condemned for the crime of felony in an assembly of peers and prelates, and degraded from being any longer count of Brittany. Some time after being reduced

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to extremity, he threw himself at the feet of Lewis; 'Abandoned traitor,' said the monarch to him, 'though thou hast deserved an ignominious death; yet I pardon thee, on consideration of the nobleness of thy blood; but I will leave Brittany in thy family for the life of thy son only; and after his days, the kings of France shall be the sole masters of that land.'

The young king, under the direction of the regency, employed himself entirely in the duties of his station; study, religion, and public affairs, absorbed every moment of his time till he arrived at the age of twenty-one; he at length took on himself the reins of government, but without losing any of his respect and confidence for the queen mother. For several years he continued to govern in concert with her: nothing escaped their care and attention; but we must avoid taking up time in relating trifles, and keep only to principal events.

The prejudices of the age were such as would not suffer Lewis to have a truly clear idea as to ecclesiastical matters. He nevertheless could discern, and that was a great thing in a prince so devoted to religion, the bounds of spiritual jurisdiction, on many occasions, and the necessity of restraining the abuse of it. He had forced the bishops, by the seizure of their temporalities,

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ralities, to withdraw those dangerous interdictions, which had lately increased beyond measure. He shewed still more prudence on the dispute which happened between Gregory IX. and the emperor Frederick II. That pope, after having several times excommunicated and deposed Frederick, whose chief crime was the taking upon him to question the pretensions which the pope made to some certain lands, forced all Europe to arm themselves against him, and offered the empire to Lewis IX. for his brother Robert, which the monarch haughtily refused, saying, 'It was sufficient for Robert to be the brother to a king of France.' The refusal, if we may give credit to Matthew Paris, was accompanied with an insulting message to the pope. The most candid critics are obliged to confess, that this reply was made in a stile very unsuitable to a religious and pious prince. Notwithstanding advice and intreaties, Gregory convoked a council at Rome, where the bishops had permission to attend. Frederick had set detachments on all the roads, who arrested the French, and others, without distinction. St. Lewis complained of this outrage in very lively terms, and the emperor restored the French prelates to liberty. The death of the pope suspended for a while the impending storm,

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storm, which soon after burst out with greater violence.

Tranquillity seemed established in the kingdom, when the insolence of Hugh de Lusignan, count of March, instigated by the pride of his wife Isabella, the widow of John Sans Terre, obliged Lewis to take the field. The county of March was a fief of that of Poitiers, which the king had given to Alphonfus one of his brothers. Hugh had done homage to the new count; but Isabella could not bear to see him a vassal to that prince, and persuaded her husband publicly to insult him. The king of England, Henry III. supported him in his rebellion, and invaded France with an army, in hopes of recovering his former losses. The qualities of a hero now shone forth in Lewis, joined with those of a great king: he met the rebels, and bore down all that opposed him. The Charente separated the two armies; he endeavoured to cross the river over the bridge belonging to the town of Taillebourg, which was defended by a fort, of which the English had made themselves masters. After a bloody and unavailing battle, he rushed on the bridge sword in hand, and exposed himself to all the rage of his enemies: he routed them, and the next day obtained a second victory at

the gates of Xaintes. The king of England fled; the count of March grown desperate, found no resource but in the victor's clemency; he threw himself at his feet, acknowledging himself unworthy of any mercy; and obtained pardon. The goodness of Lewis prevented, in some degree, the glory which he otherwise might have received from these victories. His courtiers one day diverting themselves at the expence of the king of England, he imposed silence on them: 'Were there no reason,' says he, 'for avoiding to furnish the king, my brother, with a pretext for hating me; his rank deserves being spoken of with respect. Let us hope, that his alms and good works will be the means of drawing him out of the misfortunes into which the counsels of the wicked have plunged him.'

This amiable monarch dedicated the leisure which the peaceful tranquillity of his kingdom gave him, to the cares of government. Ancient customs are sometimes, through great abuse, the more dangerous, the more respectable they appear: he abolished one which was absolutely contrary to the repose of the state. Several people of the French nation were possessed of fiefs in England, and consequently were the vassals of two different kings;

kings; in case of a war between these two monarchs, the nobles took part with him from whom they held the chief of their lands. This custom gave the factious a thousand occasions for rebellion and perfidy. Lewis having called together the lords who were concerned in these double fiefs, declared he would no longer have any vassals who should, at the same time, owe an allegiance to the king of England; telling them, he left it to their own choice to determine which to prefer, him or the British prince, quoting the passage in the Evangelist; ‘No man can serve two masters.’ Finding it necessary, therefore, to give up their fiefs in one or other of the kingdoms, they made no opposition to his injunctions, giving for the most part the preference to France. Henry, no less violent than he was weak, felt himself offended on this occasion; and accordingly, without giving them an option, confiscated all the fiefs which the French, especially the Normans, possessed in his dominions: an act which, with regard to these nobles, was doubtless an infringement of the truce which had been lately signed: But the moderation of Lewis prevailed with them to stifle their resentment; that prince thought that the interest of individuals ought to be sacrificed to general good.

The cardinal of Fiesque, a friend of the emperor, having been made pope, under the name of Innocent IV. it is natural to think, Frederick might have congratulated himself on an event which seemed at length to promise him tranquillity ; but this prince was too well acquainted with the human heart to flatter himself with such a hope. ‘ The cardinal of Fiesque was my friend,’ says he ; ‘ Innocent IV. will be my most dangerous enemy.’ This was soon verified : the emperor was excommunicated afresh, and the pope published anathemas against him in all parts. A French priest had the audacity to address his parishioners from the pulpit in these terms : ‘ Be it known, that I have orders to publish an excommunication from the pope, against Frederick II. between whom there are great quarrels, and an irreconcilable hatred. I am ignorant which of the two is culpable ; for which reason, to the utmost of my power, I excommunicate him who does the injury, and absolve him who suffers the injustice.’ This indecent sally was much laughed at, and would, without doubt, have raised less indignation, if the behaviour of the pope had been less violent.

The emperor defended himself against the enterprises of Rome with the utmost firmness.

firmness. He at length reduced Innocent to flight: the king of France, after having consulted his lords, refused him an asylum in that kingdom. Whatever respect they might have for his dignity, every one was terrified at a visit from the court of Rome. The kings of England and Arragon followed the example of Lewis, in refusing to receive the pope. On these refusals, it is said, Innocent exclaimed, in a transport of rage, 'We must either bring the emperor to nothing, or make peace with him; and after having crushed or softened this great dragon, we will, without fear, tread under foot these little serpents.' He then took up his residence in Lyons, a city which he held under the empire, but where the archbishop was lord, and the emperor had no authority. There, in a general council, in presence of ambassadors from all the neighbouring monarchs, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the envoys from Frederick, who protested against such a proceeding, he declared that prince attainted, and convicted of heresy, and commanded the faithful not to obey him: at the same time he excommunicated every one who gave him counsel, assistance, or protection. St. Lewis, who did not approve these measures, vainly endeavoured to pacify the pope, and not willing to

engage in the quarrel, he confined himself to fruitless attempts of reconciliation. Frederick had fairly endeavoured to exculpate himself from the charge of heresy, by submitting to an examination very unsuitable to his rank, though without success. He was still obstinately pursued as an heretic, whom it was just to dethrone. It is very extraordinary, that princes in those days seemed to be convinced that heresy robbed them of a right to a crown; and that in order to punish a sovereign whose religion was suspected, it was justifiable to pursue a whole kingdom with fire and faggot, and drench it in blood. The pitiless pontiff, according to the confession of P. Daniel, was actuated to this cruel zeal by selfish motives only. The emperor was not willing to give up to him his claim to the cities of Lombardy, which drew on him this persecution.

A dangerous sickness, into which St. Lewis fell, and which made France tremble for fear of losing the best of kings, caused him to make a vow of going in person to fight in behalf of Palestine. In vain the queen mother, the greatest part of the nobility, and more than all, the bishop of Paris, used every argument in their power to make him relinquish this design. They set before him the duty he owed to the state,

state, the interest of his family, the risks which would attend him in an enterprise of which experience had shewn the rashness; but nothing could shake his purpose. The bishop at length, to remove all scruples, assured him, that a vow made in violent pain, without reflection, and almost without knowing what he did, was not binding, and that he might easily obtain a dispensation; adding, at the same time, that his first care ought to be, to study the good of his people. ‘You tell me that my vow is null,’ replied the king; ‘very well, I quit the cross which I have taken; but it is in order to receive it from your hands: I now make a vow to go in person against the infidels; and I declare I will neither eat nor drink till you restore to me the cross that I have resigned.’ The bishop was obliged to consent. The greatest part of the nobility followed the king’s example. A tax was laid on the clergy to defray the expence of this crusade, at the same time that the pope levied another for carrying on the war against the emperor. This last tax excited so much clamour, that Lewis suppressed it, not being willing, as he said, that the churches of his kingdom should be impoverished to support a war against people of the same faith.

After

After three years preparation, having given the regency to the queen mother, the king embarked, and arrived in Cyprus, where he lost many people by sickness. He determined to turn his arms first against the sultan of Egypt, that he might the more easily take Jerusalem; but he made it a point of honour, not to attack him without some previous declaration; and, joining to this motive, a zeal for religion, he sent him a summons to render homage to the cross, or to prepare for war. The intrepid Saracen replied in such terms as may easily be imagined. As soon as the fleet set sail, a violent storm dispersed them. The king reassembled his scattered vessels, and arrived on the coast of Damiette, a very strong city, situated on the mouth of the Nile. The Mahometan fleet and army lay all along the shore, and the landing appeared infinitely dangerous; but Lewis feared nothing. As soon as his vessels were within bow-shot, he leaped into the sea sword in hand, and advancing through the midst of a shower of arrows, gained the shore, followed by his troops, who immediately ranged themselves for battle, and soon put the Saracens to flight. Their terror, which was increased by a rumour of the sultan's death, made them fly far from Damiette. The next day, the Christians

ftians found the city quite deserted; and had they taken proper advantage of the general consternation, it is probable that Alexandria or Cairo would have opened their gates to them; but they were deterred by the fear of the overflowing of the Nile, which did not happen so soon as they expected. By staying in Damiette, this victorious army was corrupted, and those who before their departure gave the strongest proofs of religion, and were even prepared for martyrdom, gave themselves up to every species of debauchery, from which neither the piety of the king, his advice, or commands, could restrain them.

The French began their march in the month of November; they ought to have begun their operations by besieging Alexandria; but Cairo being the capital of the kingdom, they flattered themselves with the hopes of finding immense treasures in it. All the soldiers, and young people, desired that they might besiege the great city first. ‘Whoever would kill a serpent, should crush his head,’ says the count of Artois, the brother of St. Lewis. This fatal advice prevailed; they undertook to pass the Nile, which was defended by the Saracens. By the use of a kind of wild fire, which continues to burn under water, they

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they destroyed their works, and threw their troops into despair. A ford was pointed out to the French by a deserter, and the count D'Artois insisted upon passing it first: the king opposed him, knowing the blind impetuosity of his courage: 'I swear,' said the count, 'upon the holy evangelists of Almighty God, that I will undertake nothing till you shall have come over.' This oath satisfied the king; but it was soon forgotten by the young hero: he bore down all before him, and indiscreetly pursued the Saracens to the walls of Messour, where he perished by a thousand wounds. The king being advertised of the danger his troops were in, instantly followed with the chief of his knights. The action became bloody and general: he saw himself surrounded by enemies who endeavoured to take him; but by his valour, he drew himself out of their hands. In the midst of carnage, the count of Soissons, jeering and laughing, addressed himself to Joinville, whose memoirs we have preserved: 'You and I,' says he, 'shall talk over this day's exploits hereafter, among the ladies.' This little anecdote, though of no great consequence in itself, serves to give a just idea of the French character, which is an odd mixture of

of bravery, gallantry, and lightness. St. Lewis wept the loss of his brother, and seemed to envy his death. A nobleman, asking him what news from the count of Artois : ‘ I only know,’ replied he, with tears in his eyes, ‘ that he is in paradise.’ They always looked on a crusade who died in battle, to be a martyr.

Succeeding combats, no less unfortunate than the former, considerably weakened the army. Sicknefs and disease followed, till the whole camp was nothing more than an hospital, where Lewis signalized himself by excess of charity. A truce was proposed to the Saracens, and they demanded the king for an hostage : that good prince was willing to sacrifice himself for the good of his people ; but the lords unanimously protested that they would rather be cut in pieces by their enemies. There now remained no other resource but to return to Damiette ; than which nothing could be more difficult, with a victorious army behind them. After several vain efforts, in which the king’s courage was displayed, he was taken prisoner, with all the lords who attended him. Sick, emaciated, reduced to one domestic, without assistance and without hope, he still retained that patience and greatness of soul, which made the Saracens

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cens look on him with admiration: they treated with him, demanding, besides the city of Damiette, a million besans of gold, valued at a hundred thousand marks of silver, more for his ransom, than for any other captain. The generous monarch replied, ' That a king of France could not be ' bought by money; that he would give ' Damiette for his own ransom, and the ' million of gold for the ransom of his ' subjects.' A truce of ten years was concluded between the two nations: a scruple of the king had like to have frustrated all, by objecting to the form of oath prescribed by the barbarians, which appeared to him blasphemous. In vain the bishops represented to him, that being resolved to fulfil his engagements, he ought to consent to the form which they exacted, and that he could not violate it without being looked on as impious, perjured, and unfaithful. Their reasons had no effect: happily the Saracens were satisfied with another form.

I suppress the detail of particular actions, except those which, for their singularity, deserve to be taken notice of. Joinville relates, that thirty or forty barbarians having mounted with their sabres in their hands into a gallery where he and several of the principal prisoners were assembled, they

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they had no other expectation but that of being immediately massacred. 'I kneeled at the feet of one of them,' says this early historian, 'and putting my hand to my throat, said these words, at the same time making the sign of the cross; "Thus died St. Agnes." All my companions following my example, kneeling to the constable of Cyrus, confessed to me, and I gave them such absolution as God had empowered me to do; but of the things which had been confessed to me, when I was released from my captivity, I never recorded a syllable.' These good knights, so sunk in simplicity and ignorance, how could they escape the enthusiasm of the crusades?

Notwithstanding these misfortunes, a false report of the success of St. Lewis was spread in France, where his triumphs were celebrated; but the sad truth was soon known, and mourning and consternation spread itself every where. It was in this general confusion that a fanatic apostate from the Citeaux published, that the angels and the holy virgin had ordained him to preach a crusade to the shepherds, and the meanest of the people only, as worthy instruments of the designs of Providence. The sheep-hook and plough were abandoned; and in a short time, this new prophet

phet had assembled together a hundred thousand men. Queen Blanche, deceiving herself into a notion that these fools might be capable of serving the king, at first tolerated the pasturage; that was the name which was given to this ridiculous crusade; but she quickly found her error. Their madness degenerated into robbery and cruelty. They were at length reduced to nothing, for want of a chief, or discipline. At the same time, an epidemic disorder seemed to depopulate the kingdom.

Amidst these sad conjunctures, Innocent IV. ordered the Dominicans and Cordeliers to publish a crusade against the emperor Conrad, successor to Frederick II. giving indulgences not only to the persons themselves, but even to the parents of all who engaged themselves in this war; as if the holy gifts of God had been designed for no other purpose than to excite an emulation for profane wars. The regent provoked by such extremes, gave orders to seize the estates of any of her subjects who should engage themselves in this war. ‘Let the pope,’ says she, ‘hang in rague those who enter into his service. She knew how to maintain good order and peace in her kingdom, maugre the endeavours of the king of England to disturb it.’

During

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During these transactions, Lewis marched to Palestine, where neither the pressing letters of his mother, nor the intreaties of his nobles, could stifle the desire he had of driving the Saracens out of Jerusalem. They represented the danger France was in, in the strongest terms: 'But if I return to it,' replied he, 'Jerusalem is lost.' Some fortifications repaired, some little embassies, and a few devout pilgrimages, were the whole fruits of his obstinate perseverance; when, in less time, he might have done infinite good to his people. At length the death of the regent recalled him into the bosom of his country. He was there received with transports of joy, which was only lessened by the sight of the cross, which he constantly wore on his habit: a too certain proof that he had not renounced the crusades.

The virtuous monarch was perfectly convinced of the importance of distributing justice, and made it the principal object of his care. The ill-designing men, with which his kingdom was overrun, were pursued with severity: the avarice of the judges was restrained, and the great were accountable to the laws, as well as others of an inferior rank. The count Anjou, brother to Lewis IX. was at law with a private gentleman, his vassal, who

who being condemned by the officers of the prince, appealed to the court of the king. The count put him in prison, and was shortly after called upon by the monarch to answer for his conduct. ‘Is it your opinion,’ says he, ‘that there ought to be more than one sovereign in France, or that you are set above the laws by being my brother?’ Lewis then ordered the vassal to be set at liberty, and appear in his own defence; he himself assigning him advocates, as no one dared offer to plead his cause. They examined the affair, and the count was cast.

Nothing wounded the piety of the good king more than the blasphemies then too frequent among the people. Having heard of the blasphemy of a citizen of Paris, he ordered his lips to be pierced through with a hot iron. The people murmuring, and pouring out maledictions for this severity: ‘I pardon what they say,’ replied he, ‘since the offence is only against me.’ He then made a law, by which blasphemers were condemned to be punished by the loss of some of their members. A short time after, Lewis prudently relaxed this extreme severity, and satisfied himself with inflicting pecuniary punishments. According to the maxim of the celebrated author of the *Spirit of the Laws*,

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Laws, Punishments ought to be such as seem to rise naturally from the crime committed; if it be of a religious kind, and does not affect the public tranquillity, it should be punished only by a loss of those advantages which religion procures for its votaries. This maxim is more agreeable to the dictates of humanity, than to the customs of former ages.

For several years the repose of the state had been disturbed by the disputes which subsisted in the university of Paris. The privileges which had been so profusely annexed to that community, had rendered it a body much more powerful than in its nature it ought to have been. The nation, therefore, bore with great impatience the enterprizes of two new orders, the Dominicans and the Franciscans, whose privileges, no less extraordinary, rendered them a power to be feared even by the clergy themselves: exempt from inferior jurisdiction, they depended only on the pope, and pretended to hold under him, the sole power of exercising the ecclesiastical functions. They had obtained seats in the university, and affected a kind of independence. Their rivals became jealous, and jealousy soon turned to outrage. The Jacobines especially, who presided over the tribunal of the inquisition, and condemned many

many of the heretics to the fire, strongly declared war against the doctors. Both parties reviled each other with the most bitter invectives. The popes, protectors of the Mendicants, breathed excommunications against their enemies. Many professors disappeared: all Paris was in a tumult, as in a popular commotion. At length the mendicants triumphed, through the authority of Alexander IV. and the university was obliged to receive them again. This affair, which was entirely civil, could not be determined but by the force of bulls and anathemas. It should have been the business of the king to have put an end to these difficulties in time; but his respect for the order, prevented his exercising himself as a king. The piety which appeared among many of them, and their successful labours in the gospel, blinded his eyes as to the abuses which interest and ambition had introduced into the monastic orders. He used to say, that if he could divide his person into two parts, he would give one part to the Mendicants, and another to the Cordeliers. The bold exhortations of a brother preacher had once inspired him with a desire of embracing his order, and he seriously proposed it to the queen, conjuring her at the same time, not to oppose his inclination.

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inclination. This princess sent for his children, and the count of Anjou, his brother, and demanded of them, if they liked better to be stiled the children of a priest than the children of a king; and, without waiting for their reply, 'Know,' said she, 'that the Jacobines have so fascinated the soul of your father, that he resolves to abdicate the throne, in order to become a priest and preacher.' At these words, the count of Anjou inveighed against the king and against the clergy; and the monarch's eldest son swore by St. Dennis, that if ever he succeeded to the crown, he would banish the Mendicants his kingdom. The king was convinced that it was his duty to dedicate himself to his state, and that his proper vocation was to reign with wisdom.

He principally applied himself to the object which was most essential to public good, to re-establish or maintain peace in his kingdom; amicably determining all disputes between the nobility, forbidding those little wars which they had been used to make on each other, and substituting real proofs for testimonies, instead of the barbarous custom of duelling; in a word, diminishing the evils which could not yet be extirpated. He yielded to the king of Arragon the sovereignty of Roussillon

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and Catalonia, in lieu of the claim which that prince made to Languedoc, and some other cities. In these acts, he had more at heart the love of peace, than the interest of the crown. He also yielded to the king of England Loumifin, Perigord, Quercy, and Agenois, on condition that he should pay liege homage * to the kings of France. Henry III. entirely renounced every claim which he could (or rather which he could no longer have, after a lawful forfeiture) on Normandy, Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and Poitou. His intrigues, his care to pay court to the king, his confidence in demanding back the provinces which had been confiscated in the reign of John Sans Terre, the bounty of Lewis IX. and perhaps a desire of engaging in a new crusade, contributed to the forming this treaty so disadvantageous to France, to which the nation made the strongest opposition without effect. 'I know well,' says Lewis, 'that the king of England has no right over the lands

* There were three different sorts of homage; the common homage obliged the vassal to attend the court, the bar, or the camp; the liege homage required the same, with this difference only, that the vassal owed his lord military service the whole time he had any war to support; instead of which, the common vassal, was only bound to serve during a certain time: the plain homage was but little known; it did not oblige a man to serve, only not to attack directly, or indirectly, the lord to whom he was bound.

which

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‘ which I suffer him to possess ; his father
 ‘ lost them according to just decree, but
 ‘ we are brothers-in-law, our children are
 ‘ cousins-german, and I would fain esta-
 ‘ blish peace and union betwixt the two
 ‘ nations : besides, I have found another
 ‘ advantage, which is, the having a king
 ‘ for a vassal.’ These specious reasons,
 too conformable to the generosity of his
 soul, could they counterbalance the rea-
 sons of state, the rights of the crown, and
 the manifest danger to which France was
 exposed, by the re-establishment of her
 enemies in it ? Fatal step ! which seemed
 the more inconsiderate, as they had it at
 the same time in their power to deprive the
 king of England of Bourdeaux, Bayonne,
 and other places which he still kept, and
 for which he had not rendered homage for
 a long time.

Henry was on the point of losing his
 own crown, being forced by his barons
 to swear to observe the grand charter ;
 and soon breaking that oath, he saw all
 England ripe for rebellion, disdaining to
 have a king who was a slave to the pope,
 and a vassal of France. They were able
 to govern themselves, they said, without
 his aid, and he might go to Guienne, and
 serve the French monarch. This was the
 general cry of the nation : they, neverthe-

leis, consented to refer their dispute to the arbitration of Lewis. The affair was pleaded before him with all the power of eloquence; which, when he had heard, he gave his voice in favour of the royal authority, without however lessening the privileges, charters, and liberties established before the quarrel. The English barons declared, their swords should defend their cause. Their chief, the earl of Leicester, a son of the famous lord Montfort, alleged, not without some colour of reason, that the judgment was given in their favour, since it still left depending the grand charter, on which they founded all their pretence against Henry: yet they flew to arms with more fury than ever. Leicester fell in battle, and his death saved the king.

Another affair of greater consequence to France engaged the attention of all Europe. The kingdom of Naples and Sicily belonged of right to Conradin, the grandson of Frederick II. Mainfroi, the uncle and tutor of the young prince, having basely seized on it for himself. But the popes declared against both. Their hatred to Frederick extended to his posterity; and this kingdom being a fief of the Holy See ever since the conquest of the Tancreds, they claimed a right of disposing of it without

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without paying any regard to the pleas of birth. Innocent IV. had offered it to Edmund, a son of the king of England. That prince accepted it; but he would not undertake to drive Mainfroi out. Urban IV. made the same offer to St. Lewis for one of his children. The king refused, looking on it as injustice both to Conradin and Edmund. This pope then addressed himself to the count of Anjou, whose eyes were dazzled by the brilliancy of a crown. The death of Urban suspended the conclusion of the treaty. Clement IV. was willing to put the finishing stroke to the policy of his predecessors. Among other articles, the new king was to swear never to accept the Empire, Lombardy, or Tuscany: he likewise engaged to pay every year to the pope eight thousand ounces of gold, under the penalty of excommunication if the payment was deferred for two months after the time prescribed, and of being deposed if the whole was not paid in six months after the allotted term. He ordered that the form of oath which his descendants should take, should run thus: ‘ I —, I will be faithful
 ‘ and obedient to St. Peter, to my lord
 ‘ the pope, and his successors, canonically elected. I will never enter into any
 ‘ alliance that can be at all prejudicial to
 ‘ them; or if, through ignorance or mis-
 L 3 ‘ fortune,

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‘fortune, I should be led into any such,
 ‘I will abandon it, on the first orders I
 ‘shall receive from them.’ Lewis con-
 sented to this treaty: whether out of re-
 spect to the Holy See, which made him
 unwilling to examine the pretensions of
 the pope; whether he feared being an ob-
 stacle to his brother’s advancement; or
 whether Charles of Anjou was not in a
 humour to follow his advice; which of
 these causes might be the real one, is un-
 certain. As soon as this point was settled,
 they preached a crusade throughout France,
 against Mainfroi, publishing an absolution
 to all those who had engaged themselves
 by oath for the crusade to Palestine, if
 they would forsake that, and embrace
 this; for all wars which the court of Rome
 excited, had obtained the title of holy ones.
 The count of Anjou set out for Italy, ar-
 rived there and stormed several castles with
 incredible rapidity. He won the battle
 of Benevent, where Mainfroi was killed.
 Conradin then, not more than sixteen, as-
 sumed the title of king of Sicily. A great
 number of malecontents joined him. His
 just claim, his misfortunes, and his cou-
 rage, gained him many friends; but though
 superior in numbers, it was his fate to be
 beaten and made prisoner. The count of
 Anjou would have gained the hearts of the
 people,

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people, had he treated his noble captive in a manner suitable to his birth; but he disgraced himself by the most barbarous injustice. He formed a tribunal to judge this young prince, whom they blushed not to condemn to death, with his accomplices, as a criminal who had broken laws both human and divine. When he was led to the scaffold where he was to die, he threw his glove into the midst of the assembly, as a mark of investiture, declaring he yielded his right to any one who would revenge his death on the cruel usurper. He then had his head cut from his body. This outrage on the rights of the people was followed by more executions of the same kind, through which the brother of Lewis was looked on with horror, and made master of a crown sullied with blood. What crime had Conradin been guilty of? He endeavoured to support his rights; but he was excommunicated, and from that period looked on as a traitor worthy of condign punishment.

France distant from this scene of horrors, enjoyed the advantages which result from a wise government. 'The kingdom,' says Joinville, 'flourished to such a degree under this happy and just administration, that the revenues of the king annually increased in value.' But Lewis was

ever fighting for the Holy Land. He received accounts of fresh troubles from that place. The Knights Templars and Hospitalers, those military religious orders, which were established there for its defence and comfort, made the land desolate by their rapine, their debauches and their dissensions; the Mahometans took every place which was in possession of the Christians, and pursued them with extreme ardour. The zeal of the French king was inflamed: He projected a new crusade, and assembling the great men of the nation, declared his resolution: they, with the utmost eloquence, confirmed him in it. Joinville, one of the most zealous of the former crusaders, who had been a strong advocate for passing into Palestine, after the restitution of Damiette, at this consultation opposed the will of the monarch, alledging, that the preceding crusade had ruined him. He foresaw the consequences of this undertaking. Lewis, already so weak as not to be able to mount a horse, or support the weight of his armour, was far from being fit to bear the fatigues of war in a burning climate, so distant from his country. Joinville expresses himself concerning this affair in the following terms: 'I have several times said, that those who
 ' advised our good king to this enterprize,
 ' did

‘ did great wrong, and were guilty of a mortal sin.’ While he remained in his kingdom, every one lived in peace, and justice reigned every where: as soon as he was gone, all things began to decline, and continued growing worse and worse.

The preparations were long, and suitable to the greatness of the undertaking. They embarked in Genoese vessels. Every one believed they were designed for Egypt or Palestine; when, all on a sudden, the king proposed turning towards Tunis, the capital of a little Mahometan kingdom on the side of Africa, near ancient Carthage. His brother, the king of Sicily, had most probably suggested this fatal resolution. Whether it was to force the Saracens to pay an ancient tribute, or whether to secure his kingdom from their piracies, is uncertain. On the other side, St. Lewis, a little too credulous, hoped for the conversion of the king of Tunis, who had testified some regard for Christianity. ‘ What happiness would it be,’ said he, ‘ if I could be the godfather of a Mahometan prince!’ On the other side, if his hopes should deceive him, he looked on this conquest gained, as a great step towards others.

The army landed in Africa. The king of Tunis, far from thinking of baptism,

threatened to massacre all the Christian captives he had in his dominions, and to fall on the French at the head of a hundred thousand men; but he had not much occasion to fight. The French in vain expected the arrival of the king of Sicily, who never came. Mean while, the excessive heats, tainted water, and bad provisions, produced a mortal sickness, which destroyed more than half the army in a very short time. St. Lewis, through a singular confidence in the success of this affair, had taken with him his three sons, the hopes of the nation. He saw one die, another dangerously ill, and himself received the stroke of death, and left the world with those same lively and religious sentiments which had ever influenced his conduct from his early years. The maxims which he left behind, written with his own hand, to Philip his successor, were equally fraught with piety, and love of his people. He earnestly recommended to him, not to load his subjects with taxes and subsidies; to set just limits to the expences of his household; and to maintain the rights and liberties of the cities of his kingdom: 'For,' says he, 'the more rich and powerful they grow, the more will your enemies fear to attack them.'

F. Daniel

F. Daniel is in the right, when he says,
 ' This prince was one of the greatest and
 ' most singular of men that ever lived.
 ' In effect, this monarch, though of ap-
 ' proved valour, was only courageous
 ' where great things were at stake. He
 ' had ever need of powerful objects to in-
 ' cite him; which, when wanting, he was
 ' in appearance of a weak, harmless, and
 ' timid turn of mind. As soon as he re-
 ' turned to himself, and acted in a private
 ' sphere, his domestics became his masters;
 ' his mother governed him, and the most
 ' simple devotional ceremonies employed
 ' his days: but it may be truly said, all
 ' these ceremonies were ennobled by the
 ' solid and settled virtues of which his
 ' character was formed.' *Abridged Chron.*

To these reflections of M. Henault,
 give me leave to add, that if the devotion
 of St. Lewis sometimes appeared too ma-
 nifest; if he favoured the inquisition, the
 licensing of which strikes us with horror;
 if he imprudently gave himself up to a
 fondness for crusades; it is a proof of the
 power that prejudices may have over the
 minds of the greatest men. In compari-
 son with his cotemporaries, he was a pro-
 digy in the art of reigning. Before his
 departure for Tunis, he had published a
 kind of code, known by the name of the

Constitutions of St. Lewis. They are a set of very imperfect laws, though a precious monument of his wisdom, as well as of the ignorance and abuses which still prevailed. The Abbe Velly gives a very curious detail of these laws.

His pragmatique sanction was made to restrain the excess of ecclesiastical power. That famous ordinance where he declares, 'That his kingdom is held of God alone,' directs, 'That all patrons and collators to benefices, should be maintained in the full possessions of their rights; that all disputes concerning such matters, should be regulated by common law; that they should cease to exact those taxes, by which the court of Rome impoverished the state,' an abuse which was carried to such lengths, that the legates of the pope seemed to come into France for no other end, as Pasquier observes, than to sweep away all our benefices. The tenderness which Lewis felt for religious orders, and the confidence he placed in them, especially the Mendicants, procured them very rich foundations; but that did not impede his charity to the poor; his economy enabling him to indulge in these pious extravagancies, without hurting the magnificence of the throne: nevertheless, he was sometimes blamed for overdoing

it; but his answer was, 'Kings are often
 ' obliged to exceed a little in their ex-
 ' pences; and if there must be some ex-
 ' cess, I had rather it should be in alms
 ' than in worldly and useless things.' That religious foundation, known by the name of the Fifteen Scores, was his work.

He built a library in the holy chapel, in which were none but the works of the fathers, of some orthodox doctors, and a great number of copies of the sacred writings. Almost all the authors of those days are full of fables and visions. The ignorance and credulity of Joinville is sufficient to give us an idea of his age. This historian assures us, 'That the Nile
 ' drew its source from the terrestrial pa-
 ' radise: that its increase is owing to the
 ' grace of God; and that the Egyptians
 ' are accustomed to fish there for spices,
 ' which furnishes them with the means of
 ' a considerable traffic, &c.' The golden legend, written by the archbishop of Genoa, what Melchior Cano, a learned bishop, called the Legend of Iron, appeared then in Italy. It was a collection of the lives of the saints, which made sanctity, so respectable in itself, appear contemptible, and served to foment superstition, rather than to inspire virtue. Robert of Sorbonne, confessor to St. Lewis, founded the

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the Sorbonne, one of the most celebrated schools of Europe.

PHILIP III. *surnamed the BOLD.*

DURING the time that the army were weeping the death of Lewis, the king of Sicily arrived in Africa to second him. He shared in the general grief, and did homage to the new king, his nephew, for the fiefs which he possessed in his kingdom. They continued the war some time with moderate success. The king of Tunis at length sued for peace, and obtained a truce of ten years, on condition he paid to France a sum of money, and gave a double tribute to the king of Sicily, with a promise to allow the free exercise of their religion to all the Christians in his dominions. The monarchs likewise agreed to give a free discharge to prisoners on both sides. Thus ended the crusades, which had cost Europe and its environs two hundred millions of men, without the church being able to gain Jerusalem. The interest of the court of Rome, and the force of habit, always superior to reason, gave birth to many other projects of the same

same nature; but happily for mankind, they were no more than projects.

Philip, on his return to Paris, was eager to render his father the last duties in the church of St. Dennis. There then appeared a striking instance of the ill use which was made of the exemptions and the privileges granted to the monks, contrary to the ancient canons. The king, when he arrived thither, accompanied with the chief of his clergy and nobility, found the gates of the abbey shut by the express orders of the abbot, who, it seems, being exempt from the common jurisdiction, would not suffer the archbishop of Sens, nor the bishop of Paris, to enter in their pontifical robes. The two prelates were obliged to strip themselves of their ornaments, and the king the while to wait at the door of the church.

The count of Poitou, and the countess his wife, dying without issue, their dominions devolved to the crown, which consisted not only of Poitou, Auvergne, a part of Xaintonge, and the country of Aunis, but also of the whole country of Toulouse, which comprehends Rovergue, Querci, Agenois, and the country of Venaissin. (This last province yielded to the government of the popes in 1274, out of

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of pure generosity, and has remained their property ever since.)

So rich a succession was a great acquisition to the royal authority and power; nevertheless the count de Foix dared to rebel. Philip, that he might punish him in the most glorious way, called together an assembly of his vassals, and putting himself at the head of them, marched against the rebels, took the count prisoner, and after confining him a year, gave him his pardon.

A general council held at Lyons by Gregory X. once more endeavoured to renew the ardour for crusades. It was there decreed, that for the space of ten years, a tenth part of the church revenues should be applied to the service of the holy war. The French paid it, though with murmurs; but no more of them went to seek a grave in Palestine. This council suppressed all the Mendicants, except the preachers and minors, complaining of the excessive increase of monastic orders: and these complaints were the more reasonable, as the persons that were this way brought up, were seldom of any great service to the church. Notwithstanding, the popes have since seemed to shew a kind of emulation in increasing establishments of this kind. As political affairs were commonly

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commonly confounded with spiritual ones, they at the same time confirmed an election of the emperor Rodolphus, the count of Habsbourg, who having made himself master of Austria, has left his name to his descendents. The house of Austria dates from that time the epocha of its greatness. Rodolphus refused going to Italy to be crowned, because, he said, none of his predecessors ever returned from thence without either losing some of their rights or their authority.

Two enterprising wars took place: the one against the king of Arragon, the other against the king of Castile, in which there was nothing interesting to relate, except that Philip laid down his arms by order of the pope. His character was to make a warm beginning, but a cold and feeble conclusion. An unworthy favourite, on whom he bestowed his confidence, made him sensibly feel that a wrong choice of a beloved courtier is the most dangerous fault a prince can fall into. This man, originally a barber or surgeon to Lewis IX. was named Brosse: he undoubtedly possessed the talents of pleasing, and deceiving arts, which gained him the confidence, and made him the sole minister of the king, under the title of grand chamberlain. All France paid court to him; but

but nothing gave him so much umbrage as the passion his master expressed for the queen Maria of Brabant, whom he had married as a second wife. He resolved on the destruction of this princess in order to preserve his own credit. The eldest son of Philip dying suddenly, the general report was that he was poisoned. The queen became suspected, who, it was said, was willing to ensure the crown to her own children, by the death of all those who owed their birth to the first marriage. La Brosse was most likely the author of this calumny; certain it is, he took care it should not die. The king, mean while, was a prey to inquietude, being sensible that there was an interest which might tempt his wife to commit such a crime: divided therefore betwixt love and distrust, he resolved to satisfy himself, and to that end, had recourse to an expedient worthy of the most credulous superstition. Three impostors at that time enjoyed the reputation of great holiness, and of being endowed with the spirit of prophecy. One was a vidame of the church of Laon, another a vagabond monk, and the third a kind of nun, or religious maid of Nivelles in Flanders. They were all three leagued in friendship together, and covered their artifices with an air of austerity, which is
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always sure to impose on the world. The nun had gained the greatest reputation of the three for prophecy. The king was desirous of consulting her, to know whether the queen was guilty or innocent. He sent the Abbe of St. Dennis to her, La Brosse persuading him to join in the same commission the bishop of Bayeux, his brother-in-law; who using speed to outstrip the other, arrived in Neville first, and making haste to consult the oracle, found it undoubtedly less conformable to the views of La Brosse than he could have wished: he therefore engaged the devotee to tell, by way of confession, all that heaven had revealed to her. The abbot coming soon after, he was told that the bishop had already been informed of all that could be known, and that there was nothing left more to tell. Philip waited their return with impatience. His surprize was extreme, when the bishop refused to give him any account of his embassy, under pretence that it was a secret of confession. 'I did not send you to the nun to be her confessor,' said the king in anger, 'and I shall find means to punish those who have deceived me.' He then dispatched some other persons, who brought such an answer as discharged the Queen from suspicion. Some time after, La Brosse was convicted

convicted of treason and hanged; and the bishop his brother-in-law fled to Rome.

But these affairs at court were nothing to what happened soon after in Sicily. Charles of Anjou had always reigned there more with rigour than with policy, giving little attention to the murmurs of the people, who were irritated against the new government, by the unbridled libertinism and violences of the French; instead of healing these disorders, he fomented the spirit of rebellion, and finished, by becoming a victim to it. John of Procida, an Italian gentleman, was the soul of the plot. He attached himself to Don Pedro the king of Arragon, a bold and subtle prince, who pretended to a right in Sicily, from his having married the daughter of Mainfroi, the natural son of Frederick II.

Pope Nicolas III. and the emperor of Constantinople entered into the views of this prince. Procida, disguised as a Cordelier, had disposed the Sicilians for any kind of enterprize. A new pope, Martin IV. who was as much devoted to the king of Sicily as Nicolas had been his enemy, forgot nothing that could prevent the tempest; but the people grown desperate, could be calmed only by a revolution.

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The general massacre of all the French which were then in Sicily (almost all provincials, because that province belonged to Charles of Anjou) was the fruit of their excess. This frightful butchery, called Sicilian vespers, began in the city of Palermo, when the bell rung to vespers on Easter Monday. A Frenchman having seized on that moment to insult a woman in a public street, was stabbed, and expired immediately. With an equal fury all the rest of them were soon dispatched; so that it seemed as if the signal had been given for execution. The news ran from city to city, and produced on all a like effect. They spared only two gentlemen, distinguished by their virtues. King Charles was then in Tuscany. As soon as the news reached him, he swore he would extirpate the rebels. He passed that district, and closely besieged Messina. Don Pedro, attentive to all that happened, arrived with a considerable fleet: Sicily rendered him homage; but the pope thundered out excommunications against him, and Philip the Bold sent an army to his uncle's succour. The Arragonians would have been overcome; but their king made use of an artifice, and proposed to Charles a single combat in a neutral country. The king of Sicily, full of bravery, was imprudently
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led into the snare, making it a point of honour to accept the challenge. They agreed on time and place. The two princes were to fight near Bourdeaux, each to have a hundred knights; and if either of them should fail at the place of rendezvous, he should be declared infamous, perjured, and unworthy of the name of king. Don Pedro failed; for all his design was to gain time, being more jealous of power than honour. Upon this Martin IV. threw out against him all the anathemas of the church, and gave the kingdom of Aragon to the count of Valois, second son of the king of France, on the usual conditions of vassalage, and a suitable tribute to the Holy See. Philip agreed to all terms. The crusade was published against Don Pedro with the same indulgences as was granted to those of the Holy Land. During which king Charles returning into Italy, learned that his son was in the hands of the rebels. He went immediately to Naples, where the people had mutinied. He punished the most culpable, and died of chagrine, without being able to revenge himself on Don Pedro. While that prince was strengthening himself in his usurped dominions, he was called upon to defend his own inheritance. Philip the Bold was conquering for his son the kingdom given him

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him by the pope's bull. History is full of the barbarities and sacrileges committed in Catalonia by the crusaders. Their devotion was at this time so strong, on the account of the indulgences allowed to those engaged in this war, that they who could not bear arms, would throw stones, saying, 'I throw this stone against Peter of Arragon, to deserve the name of a crusader.' Nothing more naturally leads to sin than superstition. This enterprise closed with the taking of Gironne after a long siege. Sick-ness ravaged the army, and the enemy destroyed the French fleet. Philip fell sick in repassing the Alps, and died at Perpignon.

This reign produced the first letters patent for creating nobility, in favour of Ralph Orfevre. It appears that in all times, in monarchical government, the nobility had been distinguished from those who were merely free. At first it depended on birth alone; afterwards the possession of a fief ennobled as far as the third generation. It was likewise a mark of distinction which was bestowed on the profession of arms. At length, kings gave the title of noble to whom they pleased, a prerogative reserved to themselves alone. An act of parliament in 1280, says, 'that the earl of Flanders neither could or
' ought

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ought to ennoble a vassal without the royal authority.'

The strange abuse which was made of the most holy things, paved the way, though by slow degrees, for a fatal revolution to the church. Indulgences were, as we have seen, lavished on the most profane wars; and those too on the most trifling occasions: they now put the finishing stroke, by making a kind of traffic of them. From hence arose the principal pretext for the schism of the protestants. Nothing is more dangerous than to expose religion to the scorn of bad men, who will not give themselves the trouble to examine its true nature, but lay hold on any thing which is strangely mixed with it, and which is sometimes contrary to its principles. Would pardons and spiritual punishments ever have become objects of satire and blasphemy, if they had always been dispensed with proper judgment?

Those who extol the manners of former times, of those ages when superstition and ignorance blinded all the human race, will find in history, how much they deceive themselves in adopting a prejudice so contrary to reason. Such was then the corruption of manners, that they were obliged to license houses for courtezans, and to assign them their quarters, putting them

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them under the protection of the king and court. The ordinance for confining the clergy to celibacy, was scandalously mistaken; and a custom equally absurd and infamous, gave a right to the lord of the manor to spend the first night with the bride of his vassal. Add to these, the laws which authorised duelling, in certain cases, even between brothers, and between a pleader and his judge; the custom of looking on sudden death as a mark of infamy, and a proof of damnation; the necessity of leaving considerable legacies to the church, from which it followed that they deprived those of burial who refused to enrich the clergy or the monks at the expence of their families. Such abuses as these were offensive to religion, to humanity, and to common sense. The salutary laws made by St. Lewis, reformed them but in a small degree. A greater proportion of knowledge, and more enlightened times, were necessary to perfect the legislative power. Vice is the same in all ages; but it is certainly possible to extirpate enormous customs, and carry a decency in our manners; and true knowledge furnishes us with a means of refinement from time to time.

PHILIP IV. *surnamed the HANDSOME.*

THE reign of Philip the Handsome is one of the most celebrated in our history; full of great events, great faults, and great actions. This prince was seventeen years old when he mounted the throne. He carried on the designs which his father had begun with regard to Arragon and Sicily; but after several negociations and battles, the count of Valois renounced all right to the kingdom, which the pope had given him in Spain; and Charles II. second son of the late king of Sicily, yielded him Anjou and Maine as an amends. The Arragonian prince supported himself in Sicily in spite of the opposition of France and Rome; and that island formed a kingdom separate from that of Naples.

Edward I. king of England, came to pay homage to Philip, and obtained the execution of a treaty which had been made between St. Lewis and Henry III.: but two rival nations, two powerful monarchs, divided by incompatible interests, could not be long united by any treaties. The smallest disputes were able to raise a general war. An English sailor fought at Baionne with a Norman sailor, and killed him.

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The Normans, in revenge for their countryman, crossed the seas, attacked and insulted the English vessels. One of their fleets loaded with merchandize was, on its return, engaged by the Normans with all imaginable success. The English, at the same time, insulted Rochelle, ravaged the country of Aletour, and carried off a great booty. Philip sent to demand satisfaction, threatening the king of England if he refused, that he would cite him to the courts of France as his vassal. Edward replied, 'That he had a court in England, which
' was entirely independent of any other;
' and that if any one had complaints to
' make against his subjects, he would willingly hear, and readily redress.' The monarchs were fierce, and jealous of their authority. Every thing seemed to threaten a rupture: it at last broke out with violence. Edward was cited to appear before the peers, but did not obey; being cited a second time, he sent his brother Edmund in his place; but the king insisted on his personal appearance. When the time for waiting was expired, the French king confiscated Guienne, seized on Bourdeaux, Bayonne, and other places belonging to the English. As soon as this news reached the king of England, he declared to Philip, that he no longer acknowledged him.

for his sovereign, nor would ever pay homage to him more.

The chief allies of Edward were Adolphus of Nassau king of the Romans, and Guy earl of Flanders. The former having sent a declaration of war which appeared injurious, received for answer a paper sealed in form of a letter, in which he found only these Latin words, *nimis Germane*; that is, *too German*. They knew that his own affairs employed him sufficiently in Germany. The latter, a vassal to the king, had not yet declared himself: He had secretly promised his daughter in marriage to the eldest son of Edward, which was a thing that, according to law, he could not do, without the consent of the sovereign monarch. The king of France, under some pretence, drew him to Paris, where he and his wife were both put under arrest, and he could obtain his liberty on no other terms than consenting to what the court exacted, being obliged, at the same time, to leave his daughter for an hostage. As soon as he was free, he made a fresh treaty with England; daring likewise to send a challenge to the king of France. War broke out with great heat. The English were beaten, and almost all Flanders conquered.

Philip

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Philip had a more dangerous enemy in Boniface VIII.; a man capable of overturning all Europe, if he had not had a prince to deal with of inflexible resolution. Boniface began by attempting to act as master in deciding the quarrels betwixt the king and his vassals; but he was given to understand, that he had no right to give orders in these affairs; that the king respected him as head of his religion, but did not want his assistance to reign. Pride thus wounded, does not easily pardon. The pontiff very soon revenged this affront: a new imposition created murmurings among the people, who were already exhausted by taxes. The king being in want of money, endeavoured to supply it, by putting the clergy under contribution. Some of its members complained to the pope. This it was which gave occasion to the bull *clericis laicos*, which forbids all clerks, prelates, or religious orders of what denomination soever, to pay to the laity any kind of tax, whether under the name of aid, loan, free-gift, supply, &c. without the permission of the Holy See; declaring that those who furnished such money, and those who received it, whether princes, kings, or emperors, should be excommunicated. Though France was not mentioned in this bull, yet Philip very

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well knew he was the principal person pointed at. He returned it with spirit, and without making mention of Rome, forbid the transportation of money, jewels, or provisions, &c. out of the kingdom, without a permit signed by his own hand.

Boniface felt the stroke, and dissembled no longer. He sent to the king another bull, of a nature likely to exasperate the mischief. ‘ If the intention of those who made this prohibition,’ says he, ‘ was, that it should extend to us, to the prelates, or ecclesiastics, it was not only imprudent, but senseless, since neither you nor any other secular prince can have any power over them. This single principle must alone subject you to the censures passed on those who violate the liberty of the church.’ The king replied, by a manifesto full of spirit, ‘ That the ecclesiastics were members of the state as well as others; and of consequence obliged to contribute their money towards its preservation, and should the rather do it, as in war their estates were most exposed *: that it was contrary

* An ancient charter says, ‘ Whoever shall yield up, whether to a church or any individual, an estate which has been used to pay tribute to our treasury,

‘ trary to natural right, to forbid so neces-
 ‘ sary a contribution, while they were per-
 ‘ mitted to spend their incomes in equipage,
 ‘ in feasts, and all kinds of vanity, to the
 ‘ prejudice of the poor. In fine, that he
 ‘ feared God, and honoured the ministers
 ‘ of the church; but that having justice
 ‘ on his side, he feared no unjust me-
 ‘ naces.’

The pope ordered his legates to pronounce excommunication; but they had the prudence not to do it. The pontiff was, at the same time, struck with the remonstrances of the archbishop of Reims, on the scandal caused by his bull, which drew from him several explanations of it, till at length he was obliged to allow, that in cases of urgent necessity, a king of France might levy subsidies on the clergy without the permission of Rome; and that he had not pretended to give any blow to the liberties, privileges, and customs of the kingdom. This politic condescension was followed by the canonization of St. Lewis. Boniface had not, in reality, less malice,

‘ treasury, shall continue to pay exactly the same sum
 ‘ as before; at least, till he can produce a charter by
 ‘ which he makes it appear that we have remitted
 ‘ that tribute; the exemption of the church then,
 ‘ in such cases, supposes a particular concession from
 ‘ the sovereign.’

against Philip than before; but he was willing to obtain the replevy of a tenth, which he had hitherto been prevented from receiving. He gained his point, and Philip consented to receive him as mediator of a peace betwixt him, the king of England, and the king of the Romans, on the condition that he should decide as an arbitrator freely chosen, and not as a judge. The award which the pope gave, was a monument of partiality and injustice. An English bishop was employed to read it to Philip; but when he came to the article which ordered the restitution of the places taken from the earl of Flanders, the count of Artois, transported with indignation, tore the bull in pieces, swearing, that a king of France should never submit to such shameful conditions. The king, on his side, protested, he would never execute so unjust an order, given without power. Soon after, the earl of Flanders was obliged to surrender himself at discretion, with his two sons. Their lives were given them; but all Flanders was seized for the use of the crown.

Hitherto the enterprizes of Boniface had been but a prelude to his extravagant designs. He now sent a new legate, a declared enemy, though a subject to Philip. This was Bernard of Saiffet, bishop of Pamiers, in
favour

favour of whom the pope had made this bishoprick without the consent of the monarch. This legate was not only to propose a league with the Persians against the Turks, but to insist on Philip's restoring the earl of Flanders to liberty. Seeing his orders treated with contempt, he dared to insult the king to his face, telling him his conduct to the sovereign pontiff deserved the chastisement which had been too long deferred: that his kingdom would, in a very short time, be interdicted, and himself punished by excommunication. Such insolence deserved severe treatment; but the king only banished the prelate, who then broke out in the most injurious railings against his master. Upon which a memorial was presented, charging him not only with sedition, but rebellion. Twenty-four witnesses judicially heard, almost all attested the truth of these accusations, and Philip the Handsome, with great difficulty, put him under the protection of the church.

Boniface now became furious. He published bulls without number, declaring in one, that the secular princes had no power over ecclesiastics: in another, he renewed the prohibition of paying tenths, and other subsidies, without the permission of Rome: in a third, he said, 'That God

‘ had established him over kings and kingdoms, to root out, to destroy, set up or pull down, to build or to plant; that kings were to submit to the pope, and that to think otherwise, was to be a fool, a madman, and an infidel.’ Nobody doubted this with respect to spirituals, to which the pontifical power was limited; but Boniface added, after having reproached Philip for his tyranny, ‘ That he commanded the clergy of France to appear at Rome, to deliberate on the reformation of the state; and that he the king should either come himself, or send some one in his place, to hear,’ says he, ‘ the judgment of *God and me.*’ In fine, to leave no doubt of the intentions of Boniface, the archdeacon of Narbonne, the bearer of these bulls, summoned the king to acknowledge, under pain of excommunication, that he held the temporal sovereignty of his kingdom under the pope. The last bull ordered the prelates and French doctors to meet at Rome the first of November, to hold a council.

The least of these strokes would have dethroned a Lewis the Meek; but Philip the Handsome opposed the torrent with an invincible firmness. He said to his children, in presence of the court, ‘ that he would disinheret them, if ever they were
‘ cowards

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‘cowards enough to acknowledge they held
‘the crown of France of any man living,
‘or owned, in these temporal things, any
‘power above them, but that of God alone.’

He refused audience to a legate, as the pope had refused it to one of his ambassadors; and he ordered one of the bulls to be publicly burnt, without any regard to the dignity of Boniface. Mean while, the example of many kings, who had fallen victims to the thunder of the Vatican, the force of prejudice, which made the multitude submit to the manifest injustice of the court of Rome; the dread of being abandoned by men whom the ties of the church could make forget the duty of subjects; all together made him think it necessary to guard against the attempts of the pontiff by prudent measures.

With this view, he assembled all the states of the kingdom, to whom he joined two deputies of cities, corporations, chapters, universities, and the superiors of the religious orders. This was the first time that the third state of the kingdom, the commons, had ever been convoked. The three orders gave separately their opinion in favour of the independence of the crown. The nobles and commons, in the strongest and most decisive manner; the clergy evasively; at first endeavouring to excuse the

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pope, conducting themselves very cautiously with respect to the head of the church, and even demanding permission of the king to attend the pope's summons. The king and the barons protested they would not suffer it. The prohibition to leave the kingdom, or send any money out of it, without express permission, was renewed with more vigour than before: notwithstanding which, four archbishops, thirty bishops, and some abbots, went to Rome, fearing more to disobey the pope than their sovereign. Though Boniface expected a greater number, he yet held his council. They considered as the work of this assembly, the celebrated bull, by which it is defined and pronounced, 'That in
 ' the church are two swords, the spiritual
 ' and temporal, both under the ecclesiastical power: that the first ought to be
 ' employed by the church alone; the second by kings and warriors for the service of the church, acting by the order
 ' or permission of the pontiff: that the
 ' temporal authority is subject to the spiritual, by which it is instituted and
 ' judged, and which alone has the privilege of being accountable to God only;
 ' and that men could have no other belief
 ' on this point, without falling into the
 ' heresy of the Manicheans.' This strange decision

decision had, for its foundation, only a simple allegory. The two swords of St. Peter, which are spoken of in the gospel, are the two swords which insured Omnipotence to his successors.

Animosity increased on all sides. Philip again convoked the lords and bishops. In this parliament, where but few prelates were to be seen, William of Nogaret, knight and advocate general, (for the functions of the long robe were in those days united to those of the sword) accused the pope of imposture, simony, and heresy, and concluded with deposing him in a council. In the mean time, however, the parties continued to negotiate; but soon after, a legate brought proposals to the king, full of insolence and rebellion. He replied in terms equally firm and respectful: but Boniface declared him excommunicated, at the same time carrying his pride and resentment to such an unheard-of excess, as to enjoin his confessor to render him an account of the monarch's conduct. There now remained nothing more than to dispose of his crown, which the pope offered to the king of the Romans, Albert of Austria, whom he had formerly treated as a rebel and usurper; but whom he now treated as a great king, when he judged him proper to serve his passions.

France

France rung with fresh complaints against this pontiff. Every order of the state renewed its protestations of fidelity. Philip appealed to the future council, and to the future pope, from all that Boniface had done or should do against him: an unnecessary appeal, without doubt; but it proved the deference which he paid to the Holy See.

Nogaret received orders to signify this act, and publish it in Rome. He learned that the pope was retired to Anagnine, where he fulminated new bulls. Nogaret resolved to seize him, according to the resolution of the council in which he had been deposed. He gained the inhabitants of the city, forced the castle, and found there immense treasures accumulated by the pontiff; he made himself master of his person, and summoned him to convocate a general council, to receive the report of his arrest. 'I can easily console myself,' said the haughty Boniface, 'for being condemned by patarins, (which was a name that they gave to the heretic Albigenes) here is my head; I will die on the throne where God has placed me.' The inhabitants of Anagnine delivered him from the hands of Nogaret, and he fled to Rome for refuge, with vengeance in his heart. He was there seized with a fever and died, guilty of all the crimes which pride, ambi-

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tion, and avarice could cause in an eminent station. It cannot be denied but that Philip carried it with rather too high a hand. Moderation would have better become a great prince; and the more difficult it is in these conjunctures, the more honourable is the practice of it.

During these fatal differences, Flanders became a theatre of carnage. The king had reunited it to the crown; but shewed less of a conqueror than a father in his treatment of it. Unfortunately, he left a man to command, who was the least fit of any, to keep in obedience a people whose affections were to be gained. This was the count of St. Paul; an unexperienced nobleman, who, by imposts and the most tyrannical severity, caused the Flemings to rebel. An old man, of no higher rank than a weaver of Bruges, was at the head of the malecontents: the revolution was his work. The French were massacred in almost every town in Flanders.

Philip sent an army under the command of the count of Artois, a brave captain, but whose imprudence undid him. Full of contempt for these rebels, whom he looked on as a despicable mob, he resolved to attack them in a station in which they had all the advantage; and he went so far as to insult with injurious language the constable

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stable of Nefle, who was of a different opinion. 'You see that I am no traitor,' replied the constable, 'I will lead on, but 'you will never return.' His words were verified. The count, the constable himself, the first lords in the kingdom, and twenty thousand French lost their lives in this famous battle of Courtray. Four thousand pair of gilt spurs served as a monument of the Flemish victory: a terrible proof of the courage which is the effect of despair.

The king marched in person to take vengeance for this defeat. Extraordinary taxes, which took the fifth part of the fortunes of every particular person, and the enormous increase of the value of money, enabled him to raise a numerous army, but excited violent murmurs. All these preparations answered no end: the king returned without glory, or rather with the shame of having made no attack on the enemy. The following campaign was more honourable: being surrounded in an engagement, he fought with uncommon valour; but the Flemings continually returned to their charge. 'Shall we never have done,' said the king one day? 'I believe it rains 'Flemings.' A treaty was at length set on foot. The eldest son of the late earl of Flanders was reinstated in his dominions, on condition

condition of doing homage to the crown; and Philip kept Lisle, Doway, Orchies, and Bethune, to indemnify him for the expences he had been at. The peace was already concluded with the king of England, to whom they restored Guienne, which he was to hold as the vassal of France, as before. Thus, after many unnecessary battles, things were restored into their natural channel.

In the midst of these troubles, Philip employed himself in reforming abuses. He published a proper ordinance to support the rights of the clergy; and more than all to perfect the administration of justice. The principal means he took was, to fix the parliaments in Paris. This illustrious body assembled twice a year, and their sittings lasted two months at a time. The king naming the members, rarely chose the same twice: Peers alone were chosen for life. They admitted no layman who was not either knight or gentleman: if they at any time called in people of the law, it was only to consult them on particular occasions, till insensibly they began to have a voice in the assembly, and to sit with the nobility. The Roman laws having been introduced into the kingdom; and jurisprudence being become a study, they made themselves masters of the affairs
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of the kingdom by their application and knowledge. Such men as the knights, whose lives were divided between fighting and pleasure, were soon disgusted with a profession equally grave and laborious. They left it all at once, when the parliaments became perpetual under the reign of Philip the Long: the lawyers alone remained: the robe acquired a legitimate consideration: they began to distinguish two sorts of nobility, those of the sword, and those of the robe. Those who despised the last might, without doubt, be said not to know what justice in a state was.

The university had occasion for some reformation. The sheriff of Paris, a very considerable magistrate, having arrested and hanged a scholar who had merited death, the cry was, that the privileges of the schools were violated, and their doors were all immediately shut. The sheriff was excommunicated by the bishops court, and the parish priests went solemnly in procession to throw stones at his house, loading him with maledictions. He was at length obliged to do all that the university required of him; which was, to go to solicit his pardon at Rome. The king, far from restraining an abuse so contrary to all public order, contributed to the triumph of the doctors. Was this the effect of fear

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fear or policy? In either case, it was equally inexplicable; but in a bad government, there always happen things which are unaccountable.

Philip was still so much under the influence of prejudice, that he could not look on himself as safe while the anathemas and ordinances of Boniface subsisted. Benedict XI. as pacific as his predecessor was turbulent, had already, of his own free will, absolved him from censures, in case he had incurred them: a remarkable expression in the mouth of a sovereign pontiff. Benedict being dead, the king, desirous of a more signal satisfaction, procured the Tiara for Bertrand de Goth, a Gascon, equally subtle and ambitious. After having made him promise upon oath, (if we may give credit to historians) to grant him what he desired, the new pope, known by the name of Clement V. kept his engagement, though he had been an intimate friend of Boniface, and a zealous partizan against the French; he nevertheless declared, that the bulls of that pontiff should never do any prejudice to the king or kingdom. He revoked those which forbid ecclesiastics contributing to the public service, without the permission of Rome. He likewise disannulled those which established the absolute sovereignty of the pope.

pope. He granted to the king for five years, the tenth part of the revenues of the clergy; and consented at length, not without pain, to sit in judgment on the memory of Boniface VIII. An accusation was published against him, in which he was charged with the most atrocious crimes. A general council was called to judge him at Vienne in Dauphiny. Philip pursued him with a warmth of vengeance not to be justified; but he was prevailed on to put an end to this scandal, and desist from persecuting his memory. As the accusation of heresy did the most discredit to the popedom, the council cleared the memory of the dead pontiff on that account, and passed no sentence on him for any other thing.

While Clement V. shewed himself so well disposed in favour of the king, all France rung with complaints, the subject of which was, a crying abuse that increased from day to day. Philip, to reimburse his exhausted finances, had often recourse to the most dangerous methods; particularly to the alteration of the value of money. Specie, in the year 1303, was raised one-third above its real value, and two-thirds in 1306, insomuch that a penny of St. Lewis's was worth threepence. The new money was generally decried. Com-
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complaints were soon changed into seditions. The common people rose, and lost all respect for royalty. Several promises of reformation were forced from the government, which were never faithfully performed. This was the sad consequence of the crusades, which had swallowed all the money in the kingdom; and of a bad administration, which, instead of redressing the grievance, made it worse. The malecontents, made no scruple of calling the king by the name of false coiner. It is believed that the want of money was the chief reason for the expulsion of the Jews, who were always accused of profaning the host, and crucifying children; but they were undoubtedly guilty of gross usury, and by such means became the objects of public execration. They were once more banished the kingdom, though tolerated at the same time in Rome. Their estates were all confiscated. The prosecution of the knights templars put the finishing stroke to the celebrity of this reign. No event ever furnished more matter for doubts and conjectures. Passion had too great a share in this transaction, to suffer truth to appear. This military order was established at Jerusalem in the year 1118, and was now prodigiously increased. Great privileges, immense riches, licence of arms, and pride of birth, had introduced

duced abuses, which were doubtless increased, by the ignorance and superstition of the times. It cannot be doubted, but that the knights templars, by losing the humility which was suitable to their vow, and giving themselves up to the vices of the age, drew upon themselves the hatred of the clergy and the people.

Philip the Handsome, in concert with Clement V. had projected the total ruin of these knights: whether it was that a particular dislike animated them against them, as there is reason to think; or whether they really believed the crimes with which their enemies accused them, I cannot take upon me to say: however it was, they were charged with making their novices deny Jesus Christ, and adore an hideous idol; of abandoning themselves to the most abominable debauches; of killing and roasting the illegitimate children of their fellow-members, &c. These were vices which the generality of the world supposed generally practised by their order; but which the most sensible part of mankind looked on as chimeras.

All at once the knights templars were arrested from one end of France to the other. The king seized on their temple to his own use. He then nominated a Jacobine as inquisitor, who was to examine them

them in presence of several witnesses. The greatest number, and the chief officers of the order, confessed either the whole or in part the crimes of which they were accused. The same interrogatories in the provinces produced the same confessions; but it was very soon known, that almost all had retracted what they said; declaring, that tortures had forced from them a confession as contrary to truth as it was to probability. The judges, embarrassed by this accident, held a council, and decided in what manner to treat those who retracted their confession. According to the rules of the inquisition, such a one could not escape from death. Fifty-nine were delivered to the secular power, and burnt in a slow fire; among whom there was not one who did not invoke God in the flames; nor one who would take advantage of the pardon which was offered him, if he would reacknowledge the crimes which he had at first confessed. They all declared to the last moment, that they retracted because they looked on it as their duty; but had falsely confessed through weakness. This dying courage had something heroic in it, and was looked on by the world as a proof of innocence.

The king being determined to abolish the order, and the pope having taken on himself

himself the office of doing it, he named for the prosecution eight commissaries, before whom he summoned the grand-master, James Molai. He was brought loaded with chains like a villain. Molai declared, that he was ready to undertake the defence of his order; but that he could neither write or read; and moreover, not being worth fourpence in the world to defray the expence of the trial, he asked if he might not at least be permitted to apply to counsel. They told him, that in an affair of heresy, they could grant him neither counsel or advocate; and that he must remember his own deposition, which was immediately read to him. Struck with surprise, he made the sign of the cross, and exclaimed against the cardinals who had subscribed to the interrogatories, taxed them with imposture, and declared that they had perverted the sense of his responses. Seventy-four knights templars brought to Paris, undertook to defend their order. According to report, both promises and menaces had been employed to draw a confession of crimes which had been imputed to them; and the most violent tortures were put in practice, to extort it from those whom they could not seduce: in other places, the dying testimony of many men who expired in torments, in
defence

defence of the truth, sufficiently counter-balanced those who, through cowardice, had betrayed it.

All these things made no impression. Informations continued. Two hundred and thirty-one witnesses were examined, of whose depositions there is only one remaining. At length, after two years prosecution, the pope, contrary to the advice of almost all the bishops and the doctors of the council of Vienna, (who demanded to hear the defence of the great officers) pronounced the decree of suppressing the order. 'Though we cannot,' said he, 'pronounce according to the forms of law, yet we suppress it provisionally and by apostolical authority, preserving to ourselves and to the holy Romish church, the disposition of the persons and estates of the knights templars.' These estates were given to the Hospitalers who had just conquered the isle of Rhodes, and are now better known under the name of the knights of Malta. Several moderns suspect that Philip the Handsome was desirous of enriching himself with the spoils of the temple: he took, however, to reimburse himself for the immense expences of the prosecution, no more than two-thirds of the money and effects. Clement, with respect to the four grand officers of the order, proposed

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only to condemn them to perpetual imprisonment, if they would publicly confess their crimes; for it was necessary to convince the people of the justice of so extraordinary a procedure. They built a scaffold at Paris, where they made the officers mount; the executioner piled up the faggots in their sight, undoubtedly with a design of rendering them more flexible: they then read to them their first confession and sentence. The grand-master being summoned to renew his, declared it was a false one, that his order was not only innocent, but holy: that if he had unworthily accused it through fear, and at the solicitations of the pope and the king, he deserved death for that crime alone; and that he would expiate it by the most dreadful torments. The commander of Normandy, brother to the prince dauphin of Auvergne, spoke pretty much in the same terms. The legates, astonished and covered with confusion, delivered them to the sheriff of Paris, who burnt them in a slow fire, repeating in the midst of the flames the same which they had before declared from the scaffold. It is said, that the grand-master, just as he was expiring, addressed himself to Clement, and cited him to appear in forty days time before the judgment-seat of God, adding a like citation to Philip in one year

from that period ; a prediction, without doubt, framed after the events had taken place.

The suppression of the knights templars, according to the president Henault, was a horrid enormity ; whether the crimes alleged against them were real or fictitious, there were certainly strong reasons for suppressing an order which was become useless to the church, chargeable and dangerous to the public, as well by its power as by the scandal it brought upon religion ; but the better founded it appeared to be, the more astonishing was the manner of doing it. Daniel, and several other historians, seem to have no doubt of the certainty of the crimes laid to the charge of these knights ; but those of our own days do not so certainly believe them. They would have it thought, that things which at the first glance appear to be absurd, were established by positive evidence ; and even by the statutes of the order, that they could judge of the credibility of innumerable depositions, of which no traces were remaining, and that the declaration of a multitude of templars in the midst of the fire, was of less weight than their first confession. This order, as some authors assure us, had offended the government, and Philip the Handsome was implacable.

This prince, at the council of Vienna, shewed a great deal of zeal for the holy war. It was there decreed, that a tenth of every one's fortune should be levied during six years, to defray the expences of carrying one on; but the money was all employed to some other purpose. Perhaps these projects of the crusade were no more than pretences for amassing money. The heavy weight of taxes made the people groan. Of so many burthensome subsidies, they were by no means certain that the tenth part was in the treasury. They could not believe that the king was poor, while his ministers were displaying the most ostentatious luxury.

Philip, threatened with a general insurrection, was still more unhappy in his own family. The wives of his three sons were accused, and two of them convicted of adultery. This, joined to his other uneasiness, threw him into a fatal disorder. Struck with a sense of his faults when it was too late, he gave to Lewis his successor, very good advice, which is never equal to good example. He ordered that the estates belonging to the children of France should, in default of male-heirs, return to the crown. This was a useful precaution, as it prevented their falling into strangers hands by marriage. This king died at the age of
forty-

forty-six, with the glory of having vigorously maintained his own rights, and the mortifying reflection of having rendered his people unhappy.

Under the reign of Philip the Handsome, the province of Lyons was united to the crown, because the archbishop had the temerity to refuse homage to the king. Duels were forbidden in all matters of civil right. The custom of acting mysteries on the theatres, began in this reign to be established. In a feast which was given when Philip armed his children upon their receiving the order of knighthood; ‘We see,’ says an ancient chronicle, ‘God the Son eating apples; laughing with his mother, saying pater nosters with his apostles, raising and judging the dead: we hear the blessed singing in paradise, with four-score and ten angels; and see the damned weeping in a black and sulphureous hell, incircled with above a hundred devils, who laugh at their misery: we see also a cunning knave, who is first a simple clerk that chaunts an epistle, then a bishop, then an archbishop, and at last a pope, always gormandising upon chickens and capons.’ These indecent and ridiculous spectacles were, for a long time, the delight of the French, who

were foolish enough to be devoutly amused by such fopperies.

A sumptuary law, published in 1294, fixed the number of messes which should be served at table: at supper, which was then the grand meal, two messes of meat and a bacon soup were allowed: at dinner, one mess of meat, and some pastry: never more than four dishes of pastry were allowed on fast days, nor more than three on other days. Kings themselves were served in no other way. We read, that in England the monks complained to Henry II. against their abbot, who had reduced them to ten dishes: 'They bring me only three,' replied he, 'Woe be to your abbot, if he allows you more than Temperance allows your king.' The same law fixed the number of robes which they should buy in a year, with the prices of them; likewise forbidding citizens to have carriages, to use torches, or wear furs: prohibitions, which, like many others, were altogether useless, because nobody took any steps towards carrying them into execution.

LEWIS

LEWIS X. *surnamed* HUTIN.

LEWIS already king of Navarre, from the time of his mother's death, who was heiress to that kingdom, now mounted his father's throne with good intentions, but too much lightness and folly in his conduct. The count of Valois his uncle, drove from him this timid spirit, and made him immediately sacrifice a respectable minister, who had the greatest authority in the late reign. This was Enguerraud of Marigni, a man of quality, superintendant of the finances, to whom they falsely imputed the badness of the coin and the evils of the state. The king demanded one day in full council, what was become of the money which had been raised by so many taxes and tenths. The count of Valois replied, 'That Marigni was then
' in the administration, and he ought to
' render an account of it.' 'I am ready
' to do it,' returned the superintendant,
' whenever I am called on.' 'You are
' called on now then,' rejoined the count. Marigni, without seeming at all concerned, said, 'I remitted a great part to you, sir,
' the rest has been employed to discharge
' the expences of the state, and the war in
N 4 'Flanders.'

‘Flanders.’ The prince gave him the lie : the minister forgetting all respect, returned it. The count put his hand to his sword : the people separated them, and prevented a battle. After such a scene, it was easy to persuade Lewis, that he must sacrifice to the people the only victim which could appease them.

Marigni having been arrested, no one person appeared to depose any thing against him, though all the world had been called upon to tell all they knew. The prosecution was supported by vague accusations, to which he was provided with sufficient answers ; but he in vain begged to be heard. Lewis was urged only by sentiments of equity ; his uncle by an excess of vengeance. A new machination was set at work against the superintendant. Some witnesses deposed, that his wife and sister had recourse to magic to deliver him : that they had practised charms on the king and the count. The operation consisted of pricking or burning, with certain ceremonies, accompanied with certain words, figures of wax, which represented the persons whom they wished to perish. This forcery was believed to have an infallible effect on the bodies of those they were designed to represent. An extravagance so very absurd was then, and had been a long while a
most

most serious affair. It contributed much to the destruction of the accused. Without any judicial form, he was condemned to the gibbet as attainted, and convicted of all the crimes which, without proof, had been imputed to him, the waxen images having determined the king to permit the injustice.

This sentence was executed. Marigni protesting his innocence to the last. The people were now as much moved with pity as they had been before transported with hate. Lewis very soon testified his repentance. The count of Valois, struck with a dreadful disorder, looked on it as a chastisement from heaven, and distributed alms, with orders to say to every poor person who received them, 'Pray to God for my Lord Enguerraud of Marigni, and for my lord Charles of Valois.' Almost all historians justify this illustrious unfortunate man, who was a memorable example of the injustice of courts, the danger of being placed high, and the instability of all human things. His crime was the having held the reins of government in tumultuous times, and under a king who had not the happiness of his people at heart. It was by the counsel of two Florentines that Philip had altered the money. They had found their account

in it without doubt, and the innocent was punished.

The Flemings having rebelled, want of money to carry on the war, and the fear of creating an insurrection among the people by fresh impositions, gave birth to a new expedient, which was of service to the kingdom. The burgeses of cities had for a long time enjoyed their liberty, but the inhabitants of the country were still slaves. Their freedom was offered them on condition they paid a certain sum. The greatest part preferred their money to their liberty; for they had been always accustomed to slavery, and they were forced to buy a good of which they knew not the value. Lewis being willing that the kingdom of the Franks should be in reality what they were in name, declared, that all who had been kept in unwilling servitude, might now enjoy their native freedom, and that his subjects should cease to be uneasy on the rights of mainmort, or for marriage. Pope Alexander III. had already decided in council in 1167, that Christians ought to be free and exempt from servitude. Thus the nation recovered the most precious of all human blessings; and if all vassals had imitated their king, we should not see in some provinces, especially Burgundy,

gundy, at this day, the remains of a servitude unworthy of humanity. The sums the king raised, by thus setting his people free, was not sufficient for his purpose; he therefore thought of another expedient, which was to recal the Jews for a dozen years, and load them with taxes. This wretched nation was obliged to return into France to make amends for the injuries they had formerly done it.

Though the expedition to Flanders was not successful, yet the rebels submitted. The king, at his return, employed himself in restraining the oppression of his officers. He had the public good at heart. We can never too much admire those acts by which he forbid (copying an establishment of the emperor Frederick) the interrupting of labourers in their work, seizing their goods, their persons, instruments, or cattle, or any implement of agriculture. He likewise restored the coin to its former footing. A violent disorder carried off this prince in the second year of his reign. He left no male-heirs; the queen being big with child at the time of his death, and soon after brought to bed of a son, who lived only eight days. Before his birth, Philip count of Poitiers, was declared by the twelve peers, regent of the kingdom, supposing a prince to be born;

and king, should it be a princess. Till then there had been no formal law of that kind, such a case having never before been. Notwithstanding this provision, the throne appeared vacant by the death of the young prince. It raised great contests. The affair was debated in a numerous assembly of the three states of the kingdom. It was there decided, that the Salic law would not permit women to succeed to the crown. This was not fixing any new establishment, but confirming that which custom had authorized from the beginning of monarchy.

PHILIP V. *surnamed the LONG.*

PHILIP, by the strength of great mercy and kindness, calmed the discontents of the people. His reign, tranquil and short, furnishes little matter for this abridgment. The foolish dispute of the Cordeliers on the form of their capuchins and the propriety of their nourishment, belongs to ecclesiastical history, and has no business here. A dispute which the bulls of John XXII. could not determine without much trouble, and which exposed the same John

to

to the charge of heresy from the emperor, who at length burnt as heretics, some few of the religious orders who were obstinately attached to their chimeras of perfection. The root of the crusades still subsisted; for experience tells us that the most unreasonable prejudices can only be eradicated by slow degrees. Philip the Long resolved to begin a fresh war in Palestine; and what is very singular, the pope obliged him to relinquish his design; but the Mahometans being first apprised of it, the fear of a new invasion made them guilty of the blackest perfidy. They engaged the Jews to poison the wells and fountains of the kingdom. This people the more willingly entered into this frightful combination, out of revenge for having just come from suffering the rage of a crowd of shepherds, a vile fanatic mob, who had assembled together under pretence of delivering the Holy Land. The Jews did not dare put the project in execution; but some lepers, corrupted by the force of money, spread themselves in all parts, persuading their employers, that those who did not die of poison, were sure to have the leprosy; and by this means they brought themselves again into society. This conspiracy, however, being discovered, the guilty were condemned to the fire, and the Jews driven from

from the kingdom, to which they have never again been received by royal authority.

From the time that Philip the Handsome had fixed the parliaments at Paris, the bishops had always preserved the precedence, notwithstanding an act of 1287, contrary to their pretensions; but Philip the Long excluded them the house, 'That they might not,' he said, 'distract the government by their spiritualities.' From this time, the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, which extended itself almost over every thing, began to be limited. The false and dangerous maxim, that clerks were not to be subject to secular tribunals, or arrested by the common course of law, was no longer imposed on the magistrates. This reformation could not be completed at once. It was a great point to begin it. Philip thought of another which the following ages might carry into execution; which was, to fix a certain weight and measure to a certain price. Death surprised him in the midst of his schemes. He had made some very wise ordinances: one among the rest, from which may be drawn this maxim, that in administering justice, we should not trust too much to letters and written reports; for the more liable a king is to be deceived, the more it behoves himself

himself to examine the candour and equity of his judges.

CHARLES IV. *surnamed the HANDSOME.*

PHILIP having left no male-children, his brother Charles succeeded without opposition. He made a strict scrutiny among the financiers, who were, for the most part, Italians. Their effects were confiscated, and Guette the receiver-general died on the rack, without confessing what he had done with the treasures they supposed him possessed of. He punished with a like rigour some gentlemen who had been convicted of injuring particular people. Nothing is certainly more praise-worthy than a zeal for justice; but the king's other qualities were by no means answerable to it. War again broke out between France and England, on the account of a castle in Guienne, which Edward II. pretended was his right. This king, governed by favourites and minions, saw himself deprived of several places. Isabella his wife, sister to Charles the Handsome, justly suspected of gallantry, came into France under pretence of making peace, and obstinately
against

against the orders of her husband, who staid in England with his children. The Spensers, favourites of Edward, were sensible that gold would do any thing at the court of Paris, as well as at that of Avignon (which was the city to which Clement V. the first French pope had transferred the Holy See, and where the popes resided for near sixty years). The English gold was not lavished unsuccessfully. John XXII. wrote in strong terms to Charles, who consented to send away his sister; who, more dissatisfied than ever with Edward, obtained of count Hainaut the aid she required; she embarked for England, put herself at the head of an army, punished those who had been the cause of the death of her favourites, dethroned her husband by the consent of parliament, saw her son, the famous Edward III. crowned, and concluded by being herself shut up in prison. The new king made a treaty with France, who restored to him the places which had been taken, on condition of his paying fifty thousand livres sterling. John XXII. renewed against Lewis of Bavaria the same persecutions which the former popes had used against the former emperors. He excommunicated him, and pretended that the pope had the sole right of confirming the election to the empire, and even disposing

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in certain cases of the imperial crown. He attempted to reunite it to France. The steps which he made the king take for that purpose, only created him shame and chagrine. This prince died in 1328. He was the last of the three brothers, the successors of Philip the Handsome. They all disappeared in a short space of time. Some of those authors who pretend to read the secrets of Providence, say, that God revenged on them the blood of Enguerraud of Marigni.

CHARLES VI. *stiled of* VALOIS.

MANY pretensions on a great kingdom, supported more by force than policy, cannot fail of producing much bloodshed and terrible events, which renders history the more interesting, by the miseries of human nature. Such were the effects of the ambition of Edward III. king of England, a young prince, capable of the most daring enterprizes, whose reign of fifty years was to France a continual source of disasters. Charles the Handsome left no male-children, and the queen, who was then with child, could not ensure an heir
to

to the crown. Thus the regency was a step towards royalty. Edward founded his right on being son to Isabella, sister to the late monarch; but Philip of Valois carried it in the judgment of the peers, though he was only cousin-german to the same king: but he had the advantage of being on the male side; whereas Edward was only nephew by his mother. The English monarch alledged, that though his mother could not succeed to the crown, yet nevertheless, she gave him an undoubted right to proximity, which he claimed as nearest male relation, qualified for the succession. They replied, that he could not draw from his mother a right to have what never could be hers. The design of the Salic law being to hinder the crown from going to strangers; and in fact, the crown was not to belong to him who was nearest related to the deceased king, but to him who was really descended from the male-line. Mean while the queen lay-in of a princess. Philip, already regent, was proclaimed and anointed king with uncommon pomp. He generously returned to Jane the daughter of Philip Hutin, the kingdom of Navarre; which (according to the Spanish laws, which permitted women to succeed to the throne) was her right: by which means the count of Evreux, the husband

husband of this princess, was king of Navarre.

The Flemings having rebelled against their prince, and driven him from his dominions, he implored the protection of the king of France. That nation had reason to dread a war with Flanders, which was always less glorious than dangerous; but Philip of Valois impatiently wished to signalize himself by some victory. He, however, called a council, the greatest part of whom were for leaving the Flemings to destroy themselves by their own dissensions; or at least, to defer the war till the approaching spring. ‘And you, my lord constable,’ said the king to Gaucher of Chatillon, ‘What think you of this? Do you think we can ever wait a more favourable time than now?’ The old constable, who knew his master’s sentiments, replied in two words: ‘To a willing mind no time is improper.’ Orders were immediately issued for a campaign. The Flemish general was the master of a little fishing vessel, whose undaunted audacity had communicated itself to these rebels. Entrenched near Cassel, they had set up a standard representing a cock, with these words; ‘When the cock crows, the king will conquer Cassel.’ They despised the French army so much, that they did not think

think it necessary to keep guard; but were surprised at midnight, when they were all asleep, little expecting to be disturbed by Philip; but the royal army being properly ranged for battle, defeated the rebels, and brought them into subjection for some time.

Philip now thought of putting the king of England in mind that he was his vassal: he therefore sent to him, to demand homage for Guienne, and other fiefs held under the crown. Edward, (according to some authors) replied, 'That the son of a king should never humble himself to the son of an earl.' The king of France returned him for answer, 'That if he persisted in his refusal, his lands should be confiscated.' The English monarch, not being in a condition to support a war, was obliged to submit. He appeared at the French court, with a magnificent retinue, and a haughtiness in his manner which seemed to brave the king. They disputed on the form of homage: Edward made it in general terms, and returned into England with a resolution to humble Philip in his turn, the first opportunity.

The quarrel betwixt John XXII. and Lewis of Bavaria, was carried to a height beyond all example. The emperor, whom the pope had endeavoured to depose, gained

ed such advantage over the pontiff, as to be able to depose him. He was declared attainted, and convicted of heresy by his writings, as well as of the crime of injuring majesty in his behaviour to the emperor : for which misdemeanors he was stripped of all order, office, benefice, ecclesiastical privilege, and turned over to the secular power, to be punished as an obstinate heretic. The accusation of heresy, employed with such success against princes, was now scandalously fallen on a pope ; and, had he sunk into the hands of his enemy, he would perhaps have been condemned to the flames, as the fanatics of the order of St. Francis had been by himself, for their opinions. The pretence of heresy was, his opposing their chimeras. The emperor went still farther : he created a Franciscan, named Peter of Corbiere, pope in his stead, who returned on Avignon all the storms he had received from it with double force. Philip of Valois exerted himself against this schism, which was a reason for Lewis of Bavaria to declare against France.

The zeal the king had for the church would not suffer him to hear complaints which were loudly made in all parts, of certain abuses of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction. He held an assembly at Paris, where

where Peter of Cugnieres, the king's advocate, set forth these abuses in the strongest terms. Two prelates answered him by such reasons as would not pass in our days, acknowledging the distinction of the two powers; but yet making the temporal fall before the spiritual, and bringing, for proofs of superiority, a number of examples and miracles, which in fact proved nothing. All which may be seen in the *Ecclesiastical History*. Philip gave the bishops a year to correct these abuses. There was not in that time any considerable change. But now this famous dispute gave rise to appeals, as it had before to abuses. It is a sad truth, that the ecclesiastics never forgave Cugnieres' having so well fulfilled the duties of his station, making him ever after the subject of their scorn and ridicule, though, in these days, his principles seem well nigh adopted in the kingdom as uncontroverted maxims.

Another affair, in appearance of less consequence to the peace of the nation, produced a long and bloody war. The county of Artois, after the death of the late count, had gone to Mahaut his daughter, to the prejudice of Robert of Artois, nephew of Mahaut; for, according to custom, not the male-heirs only, but those who were nearest related, had a right to the succession.

succession. Philip the Handsome, and Philip the Long, had both given it in favour of the countess. Robert having more credit under Philip of Valois, his brother-in law, to whom he had been of great service, flattered himself with making his pretension good, maugre the two authentic judgments which had been given. He was in want of titles, and blushed not to procure them by shameful means. Divion, a young lady of Bethune, framed some false ones, which he produced with confidence. Unfortunately for him, this girl was suspected, arrested, and confessed before the king all his machinations. The falsity of the titles being acknowledged, Robert, instead of endeavouring to profit by the partial indulgence of Philip, entirely stifled it, by the most perverse obstinacy in his behaviour. His cause was tried by law : Divion was condemned to the fire, and Robert was turned over to the judgment of parliament ; but refusing to appear before them, the king, on the conclusion of the procurator-general, pronounced a decree against him, by which he was condemned to banishment. In these days the principles of humanity are better practised. It is the sovereign's prerogative to bestow mercy, and to leave
to

to his officers the business of passing condemnation on the guilty.

Robert, a wanderer and fugitive, gave himself up to all the devices which could be suggested by the most frightful despair. He endeavoured, by arts of magic, to destroy the king. He employed villains to assassinate him; at length he took refuge in England, and solicited Edward to turn his arms against France. That prince was too much disposed to hearken to him. While he was meditating on this design, Philip was thinking of quite another thing. John XXII. coming to die at Avignon, Benedict XII. the son of a baker of the county of Foix, had a desire of pleasing the emperor, by transferring the pontifical see to Rome. The king, on the contrary, found his own advantage in detaining the popes in his kingdom. Their dependence rendered them useful to his designs, though the clergy of their neighbourhood suffered much from them. Philip, to answer his ends, broke this project of reconciliation. Lewis of Bavaria then became more zealous on the side of Edward. The interviews of Benedict with the king gave birth to a new project of a crusade, to which Philip at once gave himself up in the most lively manner, as if he had been

sure

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sure of being joined by all the princes of Europe; but this great zeal relaxed by degrees, as affairs of more consequence demanded his attention.

At length the king of England declared himself, after having treated with the famous Arteville a brewer, a rich, intriguing, daring man, worthy the office of chief conspirator, who governed the Flemings according to his own taste, always inclinable to mutiny and rebellion. One of the first pretences for the war was, the restitution of some lands in Guienne, for which Edward had consented to wait the decision of parliament. He reproached Philip with having given protection to the dethroned king of Scots, when he himself had received Robert of Artois, who was declared by his peers, an enemy of the king and state. At length he exclaimed against the judgment given on the crown of France, of which he pretended to be lawful heir. He had already taken the title of king of France in some public acts. Arteville having sent the king of England word, that his presence was necessary in Flanders, he set out to reanimate the ardour of his allies. He went from thence to Cologne, where Lewis of Bavaria created him vicar general of the empire, declaring, that Philip was a cowardly perfidious man, who

had forfeited all pretence to his favour, and for ever lost his protection.

The king of France thus abandoned by the emperor, was in want both of money and policy. The smallest taxes were more than the people were able to bear, who were ruined by the Italian financiers. Philip made use of no other qualities than firmness and open sincerity against his dangerous rival, who was as cunning as he was enterprising. Edward had always several pensioners among the great men of the kingdom. He neglected no means of securing to himself success. With such advantages, it is rarely missed: nevertheless, his first expeditions were not very fortunate. At length he gained footing in the kingdom by the counsel of Robert, just at the time that the count of Hainaut, his ally, declared, that in quality of vassal of the empire, he should serve him on the lands belonging to it; but that in quality of vassal and nephew to the king of France, he believed himself obliged to serve that prince when his lands were attacked. A strange duty, which obliged people to fight for and against the same sovereign, according to the different theatres of the war! This was the consequence of the feudal anarchy. The Flemings were also scrupulous of attacking France, because they had sworn
never

never to take arms against it. It is said, that to satisfy their scruple, and make their vow useless, Arteville advised the king of England to take the title of king of France. An ignorant and superstitious people might be thus deceived; but Edward had already arrogated to himself that title.

The English ravaged Piccardy. The count of Hainaut was suspected of infidelity. Philip having committed some insults on his estates, the count attached himself to his enemies, and sent him a challenge. ‘My nephew, the count of Hainaut, is a fool;’ was all the answer he received from the king. This fool became exasperated to the highest degree against France. There was nothing more worth commemorating in the beginning of these wars, than the naval battle of the sluice; a contrivance which gave wind to the English, and was looked on at first by the French as a flight; but which secured them victory, and proved their superiority in navigation. The French fleet consisted of twenty-six large vessels, containing thirty thousand men. Edward destroyed half of this army; but was himself wounded in battle. His abilities and courage triumphed over the greatest dangers. The victor very soon besieged Tournay: displeased with the resistance of the place, he sent a challenge

lenge to the king, which was addressed only to Philip of Valois, without any other title. Philip replied with dignity, that the letter was, without doubt, not addressed to him; that he was willing, however, to teach a king of England, that a vassal was not to challenge his lord; and that, as to every thing else, notwithstanding the indecency of this step, he should accept the proposal, on condition that the kingdom of England, as well as that of France, should be the victor's prize. A false bravery possessed these two kings; it cannot be supposed that their design was to run the hazard of a duel; they rather sought an occasion to increase their reputation for courage. However it might be, a truce between them suspended at once all hostilities.

Edward, unwillingly laying down his arms, had no other design than to gain time to prepare for new expeditions. He did not long want a pretence; for he supported the earl of Montford, who disputed Brittany with the count of Blois, a nephew of Philip, to whom the last duke had given it by his marriage articles. England and France sacked this province; a second truce was violated in the same manner: the smallest pretence was sufficient for Edward, who was as eager to seize occasions as he was negligent in keeping his faith. The king
having

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having condemned Oliver of Bliffon, and several other lords, to lose their heads, without any form of trial, this fault drew after it very fatal consequences. They undoubtedly carried on a correspondence with the enemy, as Edward complained very bitterly of their death; in a letter written to the pope, in which he mentions them as nobles much attached to his person: but an illegal punishment is always a specious pretence for rebellion. Geoffrey of Harcourt would have experienced the same severity, if he had not saved himself by flight. He took refuge with the king of England, and served against his country with much more success than Robert of Artois, who died in some little time of a wound received in battle. The execution of the lords was a reason for Edward to break the truce, as if this severity in Philip had been a breaking it on his side: the English at the same time fell on Guienne. Edward embarked, resolving to go in person. Geoffrey of Harcourt unfortunately determined to attempt a descent in Normandy. That Norman lord sacrificed to his hatred the feelings of a citizen, and the duties of a subject. His plan was but too well executed. One of the chief faults of Philip was, not being sufficiently on his guard against an enemy, who was always

ready to surprize him. The English found little resistance in Normandy, and advanced even to Paris, ravaging a country where they wanted to establish their dominion. They passed the Somme, followed by the French army. The king, burning with desire of taking a glorious revenge, after having marched three leagues, sent to reconnoitre his enemies. Word was brought that they waited his coming. His intention was to give some rest to his troops; but the count of Alençon marched always before, notwithstanding the king's orders to the contrary: his imprudence drew on the army; they engaged; the Genoese halberdiers, who composed the van-guard, basely fled, and put the whole in disorder; nevertheless the French forced themselves into the center of Edward's first line, which was commanded by his son the prince of Wales, a youth of about fourteen or fifteen years of age. Edward being informed of the danger this young prince was in, enquired if he was killed or wounded; he was told neither. Oh, very well, says he, I chuse he should have all the honour of this day, and that he should gain the spurs as a knight. Philip seeing his troops routed, being wounded, and bleeding at the same time himself, was yet obstinately bent not to quit the field of battle; he was forced
away

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away in spite of his opposition, and the English gained a complete victory.

This bloody day of Cressy cost France near thirty thousand men, and twelve hundred princes, nobles, or knights. The counts of Alençon, Blois, and Flanders, the dukes of Lorraine and Bourbon, the old king of Bohemia, who, resolving, though blind, to fight, was there killed. Some believe that the English made use of artillery, and that six pieces of cannon contributed much to this victory. Certain it is, that they had known this terrible invention some years. Geoffrey of Harcourt fought by the side of the prince of Wales. He knew the corpse of his brother the count of Harcourt, as he lay on the field of battle, gloriously dying for the sake of his country: being then struck with the enormity of his crime, he threw himself at the feet of the king, with a rope about his neck, and obtained his pardon. Philip de Valois being vanquished, and seeking an asylum, arrived about the middle of the night at the gate of a castle; he called to have it opened; the keeper of the castle desired to know to whom; Open, says he, it is the fortune of France. A gay expression in so dreadful a change.

Edward was master of too much address to neglect the advantages which fortune

tune offered him; he had need of a sea-port in his kingdom, and therefore turned all his forces against Calais. John of Vienna, a Bourignon knight, who commanded this important place, defended it eleven months with an invincible courage: neither the rigour of the winter season, nor an irruption of the king of Scotland, could make him abandon it to the English monarch. Philip presented himself at the head of sixty thousand men, without being able to attack his entrenchments. The besieged died of hunger; rats and mice having long served them for nourishment. Hopeless of any succour, and far from being in a state to hold out any longer, they at last offered to capitulate; but the king of England insisted that they should yield at discretion. Maury, to whom all his knights looked up as an example, endeavoured to inspire him with more mildness. 'My lord,' said he, 'with a noble freedom, you may expect injuries; for you give but a bad example.' Several other knights supported these representations, upon which the king promised to shew mercy to the people of Calais, provided that six of the principal inhabitants should come with ropes about their necks, and present him the keys of the city, and on that spot be sacrificed for the sake of the rest. At this news, Calais resounded

resounded with cries; a dreadful uncertainty froze their hearts: at length Eustace de St. Pierre addressed them, and declared he would be the first to die to save his fellow-citizens. The people prostrated themselves at his feet; they bathed him with their tears. Then John Dairre, his cousin, and two brothers, whose name was Visant, their relations, imitated the noble example which Eustace had set them: history has not transmitted to posterity the names of the two others. These six patriots, conducted by their illustrious commander, appeared at the English camp, feeble and pale, being exhausted by fatigue and famine. The nobles were loud in their praise, and the prince of Wales strongly interceded for their lives, but Edward gave orders for their execution. The queen, however, threw herself at his feet, and disarmed his rage. All the inhabitants of Calais were sent away, and the city was repopled by the English, in whose hand it remained till the year 1558. I suppress all reflexion on this celebrated example of patriotism, because our own feelings must teach us to adore virtue wherever it is displayed without a veil. These fatal events reduced France to despair; the soldiers refused to fight, the people to pay excessive taxes, and arbitrary alterations of the

value of the coin excited a general complaint. The most terrible grievance was, that almost all the money, which was thus extorted, served only to supply the luxury of the great, the officers of the army, and the financiers, who gave themselves very little concern about public evils, by which they gained great profit. The financiers, who were for the chief part Italians, devoured the substance of the state. Their oppressions at length were too flagrant to be concealed or born, and the people drove them out of the kingdom: not so much perhaps to get rid of them as to seize upon the treasure they had amassed. The treasurer of the affairs was condemned to a restitution of a hundred thousand florins, which he had the address to reduce to half the sum. To complete the misery of this wretched nation, the plague, after having depopulated Asia and Africa, spread itself in Europe; insomuch that they buried five hundred in a day from the hotel Dieu of Paris alone. This chastisement gave birth to a sect of fanatics, called scourgers, who ran about the country and town, tearing their shoulders with whips, to expiate, as they said, the sins of the world. The king, by the advice of the Sorbon, forbid, under severe penalties, their assemblies and practices, so likely to disturb the minds of

weak people. Immediately upon this prohibition, the folly of the scourgers degenerated into robbery; but contempt and authority brought them to their duty.

Philip of Valois died at the age of fifty-seven, a prey to chagrin, suspicion and vexation; hated by the subjects, whose idol he had been; and whom, in better times, he would have made happy. Unfortunate at the last, through the superiority of his enemy, and his want of political skill: to him was attributed the tax upon salt, though he was not the inventor of it, but had only increased it. Edward III. for that reason, called him the author of the *Salic* law. Let us observe here, with Mr. Henault, that the north countries want the degree of heat necessary for the making of salt, and that such situations as are beyond the forty-second degree of latitude, such as Spain, make a salt too corrosive, that eats and destroys the meat instead of preserving it. But in France alone you find a temperate climate fit to make salt; and it is indeed what most enriches the kingdom. The cardinal de Richlieu, in his Political Testament, says, that he has known the most intelligent of the superintendants equal the income of the tax gathered from the salt-pans, to that which the Indies brought the king of Spain. This tax, levied with ex-

treme rigour, and laid in so heavy a manner, on a commodity so common and so necessary, caused from that time frequent disputes in the nation.

Humbert II. the dauphin of Vienna, being inconsolable for the death of his son, and resolved to retire into a cloister, yielded in 1349 the Dauphiny to France, on condition that the eldest sons of that kingdom should enjoy it, taking on him the title of Dauphin, and that this country should be incorporated in the kingdom, if the empire should be reunited to the crown: from thence it is that the orders of the king, though general, are received in this province as in a separate state, under the title and with the arms of the dauphin of Viennois. The pope acquired Avignon much about the same time. Jean, the queen of Naples, having murdered her husband, and fled into Provence, sold it to Clement VI. for forty-five thousand florins of gold. The crusade of the Albigenes had already joined the county of Venaissin to the holy see. The extreme necessity of Jean procured them this new acquisition; which was the more valuable, being still the seat of the sovereign pontiffs.

In this reign, the mode of the French dress was altered. From long, which was the former custom, it became very short.

The

The princes of the blood dressed still in the same way, as being much more convenient, as well as giving a dignity to the wearer. Luxury increased with public calamity, and their extravagance was as great as their manners were coarse.

JOHN.

JOHN succeeded to the throne of his father at forty years old, used to business, sufficiently educated, but too weak to resist storms, and too fiery to govern with discretion in the midst of trouble and disorder. In the opening of his reign, he beheaded, without any trial, the count of Eu, who, by his quality as constable, was looked on as the next person to himself in the state. This officer, once nothing more than an inspector of the stables, was now become a person of consequence to the crown, and commander in chief of the army. Princes applied for this place. We are ignorant what was the crime which was laid to the charge of the count of Eu; some think he had held correspondence with the king of England; others, that he was sacrificed to the ambition of Charles of Spain, who was appointed to fill his place. Whatever it was, this despotic act made all the nobility,
already

already greatly soured by the loss of their ancient privileges, rebel, and inclined the people to look with an eye of indifference on the misfortunes of their king.

In order to regain the love of the nobles, who are always greedy of honours, John thought of creating an order of knight-hood, after the example of Edward III. who had instituted that of the garter; but he did not consider that honours which are bestowed too lavishly are no longer coveted. The prudent Edward had fixed the number of his knights to twenty-six; he, on the contrary, received five hundred into his order of the star. The number was very soon increased, and this new order, in its birth, appeared an object so little worthy of ambition, that the successor of John abandoned it to the knights of the watch.

Charles of Evreux, king of Navarre, surnamed the Wicked, endowed with, or rather soiled with all the vices of the worst of criminals, was born to be the cause of misery to his native country, France. His alliance with the king, whose daughter he married, only made him more able to execute his pernicious designs. Jealous of the constable, Charles of Spain, he had him assassinated, and dared even to boast of his murder. The death of a prince of the blood,

blood, and his favourite, threw king John into a furious rage. He swore instant vengeance; but a fear, which he could not help feeling of the assassin, obliged him to submit to a slight satisfaction, and at the same time to suffer it to be looked on as a kind of recompence. Charles the Wicked very soon perceived that this reconciliation was feigned; that they suspected him, and that they designed to take the first opportunity of securing his person. He suddenly disappeared from the court, and went privately to Avignon, where he endeavoured by every means to counterwork the negotiations of peace between France and England. At length the king could no longer smother his anger; it broke out with violence, and he seized the land which Charles possessed in Normandy. Charles, on his side, raised the standard of rebellion. He could have been easily crushed; but John foresaw no consequences, and therefore took no measure to prevent them: he thought it happy to purchase peace by favouring still more a dangerous ungrateful rebel. The perfidious vassal was not tardy to signalize himself by new villanies; for the wicked are always encouraged by being able to sin with impunity. The dauphin, afterwards Charles V. seduced by his artifices, was on the point of abandoning the kingdom:

kingdom: the natural goodness of his heart stopped a little the execution of his project.

Mean while, Edward III. prepared for new enterprizes. A truce several times renewed since the taking of Calais, had given him time to increase his forces. All negociations being in vain with this fierce ambitious monarch, it was necessary to think of means to keep him within bounds. The states were called together to consider by what method to obtain subsidies. They made a law in this famous assembly, that no proposal should be admitted without the unanimous concurrence of the three orders. Thus the third state, once enslaved by the clergy and nobility, now yielded nothing of their authority, but became in France the same as the commons were in England. Nothing is more likely to instil the love of a country than to make the citizens concurrence necessary in public affairs. Notwithstanding, the states-general never produced any thing which turned to much advantage, owing, in some measure, to the uncertainty of their rights, which made them in want of good laws to maintain harmony; and the different orders divided among them made them mind less the good of the whole, than their own respective pretensions. History does the justice to the third state to acknowledge, it often displayed a greater

greater zeal for the true interest of their country, than the others did: these men, in becoming free, became citizens. This assembly agreed to raise thirty thousand spears, or men of arms. Every spear to have at least three or four soldiers at his command; which, joined to the commons of the kingdom, made a numerous infantry, and ought to have made a great army. At length they levied a subsidy for the support of the troops. The king, in consequence of this, was obliged, invariably, to fix the value of money, and renounce, for himself and his successors, the right of taking from the people provisions, chariots, horses, &c. He engaged for still more, which was, not to conclude either peace, war, or truce, but by the advice of deputies, chosen from these three orders. The subsidies being found insufficient, another assembly, held some months afterwards, changed it to a general tax of head-money, levied on all his subjects, without excepting even princes or prelates. It was proportioned to the circumstances of the person; and is certainly the most equitable of all taxes, provided it could be exactly caculated.

The king had done violence to the impetuosity of his temper, in seeming to overlook the crimes of Charles the Wicked; he only waited an opportunity to revenge it.

Having

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Having surpris'd him one day at Rouen, he took him prisoner, with the lords who attended him; and through an excess of imprudence and barbarity, he had four of these noblemen executed, among whom was the count of Harcourt: he would be an eye-witness of their torments, and enjoyed a pleasure in this inhuman spectacle, which was a disgrace to majesty. This tyrannical action could not fail of producing rebellion. The brother of the king of Navarre, and Geoffrey of Harcourt, who had introduced the English into the kingdom, went over to England, and acknowledging Edward for king of France, press'd him to the execution of his fatal designs.

The prince of Wales, surnamed the Black Prince, from the colour of his armour, famous by the battle of Cressy, ravaged Limousin, Auvergne, Berri, and Poitou. John reassembled his troops, after having sworn to fight in whatever place he should find his enemies. The two armies met near Poitiers; that of France consisted of fourscore thousand men; that of England of eight thousand only. The Black Prince was intrenched in an advantageous situation, but without power either to advance or retreat. He was already in want of provisions, and the pressing him hard for three or four days would infallibly have reduced him

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him to surrender. He even now offered to return his prisoners, give up his conquests, and sign a truce of seven years. The king demanded, that he should likewise surrender himself and a hundred principal noblemen of the army prisoners. This young hero replied, That he would never lose his liberty with arms in his hand. It was the king's business to force him to it, by a political delay of coming to action; but he imprudently preferred the risks of a battle. There was never a more unfortunate one for France. The English so well managed the advantage which the ground gave them, and part of the French were so overcome with terror, that two-thirds of them were very soon routed. John, at the head of the corps which he commanded, defended himself like a true hero: without helmet, wounded in the face, and surrounded by death, he still cut down, with the stroke of the axe, those who dared to approach him. When his strength was quite exhausted, a knight attacked and pressed him to yield: 'To whom should I yield?' said the king, 'Where is my cousin the prince of Wales?' 'If I could see him, I would speak to him.' The knight replying, that the prince was at a great distance: 'And, who are you?' replied the monarch; when he found it was

was a Frenchman banished his country for murder; and John had the mortification to be taken by a subject.

The battle of Poitiers lost the French no less than six thousand men; but the most brave and zealous perished fighting by the side of their monarch. The English shewed themselves worthy of the victory they had obtained, by a humanity in their behaviour, which was then a prodigy. In this civilized age, the prisoner and wounded are not treated with more care and tenderness. The prince of Wales, a generous modest victor, gave the example of moderation. He received the king with the utmost respect, served him at table, consoled him on his defeat; and paid him compliments full of the greatest generosity and feeling. John seemed fully sensible of the kindness which was shewed him, and declared, 'that it softened the rigour of his fate,' adding, 'that it was no indignity to fall into the hands of the most virtuous and valiant prince in the world.'

There is no painting the consternation of France. The dauphin Charles, in quality of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, a title which his father had given him for some time past, assembled the states-general. His past conduct had not prepossessed any one in his favour; his connection with the
king

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king of Navarre was not forgotten ; he was known to have withdrawn from the battle of Poitiers in a precipitate manner. Indeed the distrust the nation had of him, appeared but too well grounded. He met at first with many cross events, which served, without doubt, to disclose his genius, to form his soul, and teach him that prudence, by which he retrieved the sinking state of the nation. The best lessons are received in the school of adversity. The dauphin soon perceived how ill affected the states were towards him. Instead of expressing a zeal to furnish him necessary succours, they endeavoured to make him purchase them on such conditions as were incompatible with sovereign authority. They demanded the depriving of the chancellor, and the chief magistrates, of their office ; and that the council should be composed of twenty-eight out of their own corps ; that the assembly should be prorogued until a certain time ; and that he should render it permanent. Such an assembly as this might be called truly dangerous. The prince dismissed them, under a pretence that he could take no resolution without first consulting his father. At the head of the faction was Robert Cocks, bishop of Laon, a declared enemy to his master, who, from a middling station, had raised

raised him to the highest dignities; and Stephen Marcel, provost of the merchants of Paris, a man whose conscience gave him no check, whose delight was to do mischief, and whose breast was a stranger to remorse. He covered, under a mask for popular zeal, the most criminal undertakings. These two men aimed at the destruction of the monarchy.

Deprived of the assistance of the states, the dauphin had recourse to an expedient which was too common, the alteration of the coin. Now Marcel no longer concealed his designs. He raised a sedition among the people. The Parisians, till then faithful, gave themselves up all at once to rebellion. It was now necessary to call the states a second time together, in order to make them masters: all authority was placed in their hands, and the dauphin bowed beneath the yoke. Fortunately, the prisoner king concluded a truce of two years. Carried to London, he had received such honours as might have made the French blush for their perfidy. By his order, the dauphin forbid their receipt of a subsidy, which he had been at infinite pains to obtain. The factious chiefs were not willing to lose the management of the finances; for which reason they endeavoured to persuade the people, that this suppression

suppression of the tax was an attempt against their country. The multitude, blinded by the spirit of cabal, believed this tale, and suffered them to enrich themselves at their expence.

There wanted no greater curse to the nation, than the liberty of the king of Navarre. A certain nobleman released him from prison, and Cocks and Marcel obliged the dauphin to receive him: he entered Paris in triumph, and harangued the populace, who, enchanted by his eloquence, set at liberty all the prisoners; his party was apparently increased by this crowd of villains. At length, after having attempted the life of the heir of the crown, he raised an army, and Marcel, with his accomplices, declared themselves highly in his favour. The rebels wore a cap, part red and part blue, which was designed as a mark of distinction (they did not then wear hats). All Paris was full of these caps; but the university forbid the doctors and students the wearing them. The university was in sufficient reputation for this example to have some weight.

The dauphin, mean while, was the sport of the seditious, a slave in some degree to the bishop of Laon, who put himself at the head of the council. In vain did the dauphin strive against the torrent. He even
conde-

condescended to harangue the people, and render them an account of his conduct, endeavouring to gain their affections. Their hearts were moved. One of the rebels spoke in his turn: Marcel appeared, and all was changed in a moment. Success encouraged this furious provost. He caused the marshals of Champagne and Normandy to be assassinated in the palace, and in the sight of the dauphin. He afterwards obliged that prince to appear and prove the attempt. Every day produced new scenes, still more and more shocking. An ecclesiastic having murdered the dauphin's treasurer, was punished by death. Instead of applauding so necessary an example, the bishop of Paris claimed the privilege of the clergy. The corps was taken from the gibbet, and Marcel assisted at the solemnizing of the murderer's funeral. The monks deputed by the people, spoke to the king with insolence. Disorder reigned throughout the kingdom. Companies of foreign troops, who joined themselves to the French gentlemen, cruelly pillaged the provinces. Marcel used his utmost endeavours to engage other cities in the same confederacy as Paris; but the greatest part were incorruptible. The only hope the dauphin had, was the expectation of this man's power being brought low.

The

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The prince being arrived at the age of twenty-one, at which time the minority of our kings generally end, he took the quality of regent without opposition, and resolved to make a stand against the rebels. The capital was no more to him than a prison: he therefore abandoned it, and being certain of the assistance of Champagne, Vermandois, and some other places, he held the states-general at Champagne. The Parisians were universally condemned in this assembly, who thanked the regent for having abandoned his country to their wretched destiny; he, on his part, promised never to enter Paris, till the authors of the rebellion should suffer the punishment due to their crimes. A large number of noblemen ranged themselves beneath his banners; more especially after the famous rebellion of the peasants, called Jacquetie. These unfortunate people, who could find no safety or repose in their country, rose all at once in several places, swearing to extirpate the nobility. They were as so many savage beasts, whose fury surpassed all expression. The nobles took to arms, at first to defend, and afterwards to revenge themselves. There was not a canton in all the seven provinces which they did not fill with blood and fire. The Jacques submitted to a destiny which they could

not prevent, and the nobility, exercised in war, massacred them on all sides. The party of the dauphin grew daily stronger, and that of the rebels sensibly declined. This prince acted now with more courage than prudence. He besieged Paris. The king of Navarre, with many of the seditious people, went out of the city. Marcel, on the edge of a precipice, without hope of pardon, undertook to put the finishing stroke to his attempts; his design was to go secretly to the Navarre monarch, engaging to introduce him privately into Paris, in order to massacre, with the help of his soldiers, all the party belonging to the regent, and to have him crowned king of France by the bishop of Laon, the constant enemy of the royal family. When the hour arrived for this execution, Marcel, at the dead of the night, appeared at the gate of St. Anthony, which he ought to have delivered up; John Maillard, a generous citizen, either having had a hint of the plot, or suspecting something, all at once came upon him and reproached him with his perfidy. A denial from the provost was followed by a mortal stroke which Maillard gave him on the head. The alarm was spread from street to street. The treason and death of this wicked man was made public; his accomplices were

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were strangled. The Parisians, already touched with repentance, sent a deputation to the regent, conjuring him to enter the city, where he was received with the loudest acclamations of the people. A citizen, nevertheless, had the impudence to say to him, ' By God, sire, if I had been ' believed, you would not so soon have ' entered this city; but there will be little ' here for you.' This insolence was going to be punished as it deserved; but the dauphin stopped the stroke, and coolly replied; ' They will not give credit to a ' stepfather.' This moderation, accompanied with a general pardon to all except the leaders of the sedition, dissipated the spirit of rebellion, and the people were convinced that obedience to a good prince was preferable to a false appearance of liberty.

The provinces still continued to suffer all the unbridled licence, pillage, and misery that the most dreadful civil war could produce. Charles the Wicked, being in league with Edward, soon afterwards made peace with the dauphin, but continued his hostilities under the name of his brother Philip of Navarre.

John, who was now released out of prison, treated also with the king of England, on such conditions as were sufficient to purchase the ruin of the kingdom. He gave

up Normandy, Guienne, Xaintonge, Per-gord, Querci, Linoufin, Poitou, Anjou, Maine, Touraine, &c. &c. with four millions of gold crowns, for his ransom. The states, convoked by the regent on this occasion, were shocked at the reading of this treaty, which they unanimously rejected. The truce was expired: Edward, at the head of a hundred thousand men, returned to France to extend his conquests.

One battle would have overturned the throne; had the dauphin been as imprudent as his father, he would have run all risks; but suiting himself to circumstances, he secured all the fortified places, and abandoned the rest to inevitable ravages. Charles the Wicked, under a veil of the most intimate friendship, was preparing new treachery. The young prince was on his guard. This plot was discovered. The Navarre prince briskly quitted Paris, and declared himself still the enemy of France. Edward, after having raised the siege of Reims, laid waste the environs of the capital, without being able to take it, though depopulated by a dreadful famine. Indeed, want and fatigue had greatly exhausted his own troops, and he began not to be averse to peace. We are told, that a most violent storm fell about the same time, which, killing a number of
men

men and horses, made him take his last resolution. Mr. Voltaire, in denying this, which is attested by cotemporaries, seems to forget, that little causes are often productive of great events. The negotiations were opened at Bretinny before Chartres, and the treaty was concluded after a week's conference.

The principal article of the peace was, that Guienne, Poitou, Xaintonge, and Linoufin, should remain the sole property of the English; that the king of France should expressly renounce the sovereignty over these provinces, and that Edward should, at the same time, renounce his pretensions to the crown of France; that John should pay three millions of gold crowns for his ransom, six hundred thousand of which should be paid four months after his arrival at Calais, and four hundred thousand annually, until the conclusion of the payment. The two kings ratified this treaty at Calais. They only retrenched the article concerning their respective renunciations. Edward, on a summons which was made him, neglected to send deputies to Bruges, where it was convenient they should meet. He shewed little more fidelity in evacuating those places which he had promised to give up, con-

tenting himself to give orders, though he had promised to make use of force, if occasion required. In the places which were to come under the British dominion, the noblemen and citizens shewed the strongest repugnance to change their master. They obeyed with extreme reluctance. The inhabitants of Rochelle, after a year's delay, or rather refusal, pressed by repeated importunity from the court, replied with sorrow: 'We must submit to the English, but our hearts remain still in the same place.' This was one of the strongest proofs of the attachment of the French to their sovereign, at a time when such fatal circumstances seemed to have cooled their zeal.

A peace so dearly bought could not deliver the kingdom from the scourge which tore it to pieces. Crowds of licentious troops, among whom the English were the chief, brought it to the last extremity; they gave themselves commanders, and committed, under the name of Companies, or Malandrines, the most abominable excesses. One of their chiefs stiled himself the friend of God, and enemy of mankind. Wives and daughters were violated; churches, villages, and cities abandoned to the flames, to pillage, and

to

to massacre. Nothing could appease the rage of these Malandrines. The king sent against them James of Bourbon, who was defeated in Lyonnois. Fortunately, the Marquis of Montserrat, having engaged in his service, made a great many flee into Italy, where the pope, through fear, gave them a full absolution from their sins. This was made a condition of their departure. From that time this superstitious banditti looked on their consciences to be clear. One of their chiefs staying behind, Charles the Wicked had at first a desire of forming a connexion with him, but not finding him tractable enough to his purposes, he poisoned him at a feast.

John having lost great part of his dominions, was fortunate enough to have Burgundy devolve to him by the death of young Philip of Rouvenne, to whom he succeeded in quality of nearest relation. He gave the dutchy and country of Burgundy for an appenage to Philip his fourth son, who had signalized his valour at the battle of Poitiers. Thus began the second house of Burgundy, which in a short time became so powerful to France. Every step this king took, by a sort of fatality, turned out a misfortune to his subjects. It is scarcely to be conceived how it was possible,

possible, after such a number of errors in the midst of the ruins of his state, and public calamities, he could form the design of a crusade against the Mahometans. Urban V. gave birth to this ridiculous resolution. The cross was received, and the time of departure fixed: but another imprudence of John suspended the execution. The duke of Anjou, one of his sons, was an hostage in London, from which place he departed without the leave of Edward, and protested that he would never return. The king, whose principal virtue was a scrupulous adherence to his word, was extremely hurt by this fault of his son, and resolved to go himself to supply his place. Deaf to all argument, he went to England, and Edward received him in a magnificent manner. It was taken notice of as a mark of the opulence of the English, that a wine-merchant had the honour of entertaining the two kings and their attendants. John fell sick at London, and died; a generous, sincere, and valiant prince; a friend to piety, justice, and letters. With all these good qualities, in what evils did he involve his people, for want of either moderation, regularity, or foresight in his conduct! It must be allowed he was author of one excellent

cellent maxim; which was this, If justice and honour was banished from the rest of mankind, they ought to be found in the hearts and mouths of kings. We should cast an eye over the knowledge of war at this time, in order the better to form a judgment of the nation, and the principal cause of its disgrace. The chief strength of the army, as we have already observed, consisted in the cavalry. Besides which, the English had brought with them some of the most excellent archers in their country. The French disdained this kind of military art; those in their army who made use of it, were strangers, and very inferior to the English. Nothing contributed more to their defeats at Cressley and Poitiers than those archers, who routed the first line; they fell over our second, till the disorder became general. It appears, that the English genius, more capable of reflection, had a great superiority over the French vivacity. If our enemies employed cannon against us at the battle of Cressley, how were the French to blame for neglecting an advantage of which they were ignorant? Valour was degenerated into licentiousness. The real service of the state was not so much their object as the distinguish-
ing

ing themselves by some particular feat of arms. The stripping of a vanquished enemy had more charms for them than the public good. A profound ignorance increased their indocile stupidity, and changed their religion into vain ceremonies, to which they sacrificed their real duty. We may judge of this ignorance and superstition from a story they tell of the famous La Hire. This knight, on the point of entering a besieged city, met a priest and demanded of him absolution. 'Confess yourself, sir,' said the priest. La Hire replied, 'That he had no time to lose; that, in general terms, he had made all the confession that people in his profession were accustomed to make.' On which the priest gave him absolution, such as it was. The penitent then addressed to God this prayer. 'God, I beseech thee, that thou wouldest do for La Hire this day, what thou wouldest that La Hire should do for thee, if he was God, and thou wast La Hire.' These warriors believed nothing unlawful which they did, provided they performed a ridiculous outside devotion; and their pillages seemed so authorised by custom, that the famous general Talbot said, without ill design: 'That if
 ' God

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‘ God was a soldier, he would be a plunderer.’

The common soldiers, being an undisciplined infantry, were almost always cut in pieces. A thing worthy of remark is, that France was then much more populous than it is now. A great resource for a government which had known how to make an advantage of it: but being in continual war, they had not time to form their troops into a regular discipline.



END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

HISTORY OF FRANCE. 323

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